



MARGARETHA KUHN BRYNER 1839-1906

This is the story of the journey of an unwed mother and her disabled child from a Swiss village to Mormon Zion. There she married a man older than her father, then a civil war soldier, and finally a blind man as his second plural wife. She was widowed three times and outlived four of her 13 children, while serving as wagon driver, beekeeper and practical nurse to her community.

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Introduction

All 16 of my great, great grandparents were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which means that their temple work is already done, and so is most of the research needed to seal us and them to our ancestors. Their written memories posted on *FamilySearch* already include many “faith-promoting” stories, so my personal genealogical goal has been to study them in their own context, unearthing more historical and geographical facts where possible, even if they tread on beloved myths and legends.

This writing is the product of my work on the last of the 16. I hesitated to address this pair because so much was already written about the legendary Hans Ulrich Bryner, the blind man who crossed the plains with the storied Martin-Willey Handcart Company. What was there left to say?

Then it came to me: I should retell the story through the eyes of one of his three wives, my great, great grandmother Margaretha Kuhn.

That has turned out to be harder than I thought, since apparently not a word of her own has been preserved. I have had to learn from the times and places where she lived and from the reports of others who wrote mostly about her amazing husband. I am grateful for two of Margaretha’s daughters, Lilly and Rosella, and Rosella’s daughter Verena Anderson Nielson, who interviewed them before Lilly died in 1947 and recorded their memories. I am also grateful for the excellent research and writing of Lura Redd, the granddaughter of one of Margaretha’s sister-wives.

So, here is my version, however incomplete. I hope it will increase your love and understanding of Margaretha, dear reader, as it has mine.

While I have tried to correct some errors and misconceptions, I recognize that I might have missed some and worse, inadvertently introduced some of my own. Hopefully, you will forgive and correct them. More importantly, I hope you will join in my love and respect for this heroic woman.

Also, thanks to my wife Linda for her proofreading and excellent advice and to Sue Christensen of the Bryner Pioneer Museum in Price.

Charts

Margaretha Kuhn's husbands and children

Hans Rudolph Kuhn 1837-1877	Caspar Wintsch 1803-1866	David S. Burk 1833-1868	Hans Ulrich Bryner 1827-1868
Heinrich Gottfried "Henry K" 1859-1929	Mary 1865-1896 Emma 1866-1986	Susannah 1868-1868	John Ulrich "Johnnie" 1869-1952 George Wilhelm 1871-1885 Helen Josephine 1872-1937 James Levi 1873-1951 Barbara Ann "Annie" 1875-1945 Enoch Conrad 1876-1947 Rosella Elizabeth "Rosie" 1878-1961 Lilly Agnes 1879-1947 Jacob Alma 1881-1960 Edith Margaretha 1882-1963

Color key to dates:

Switzerland

Lehi

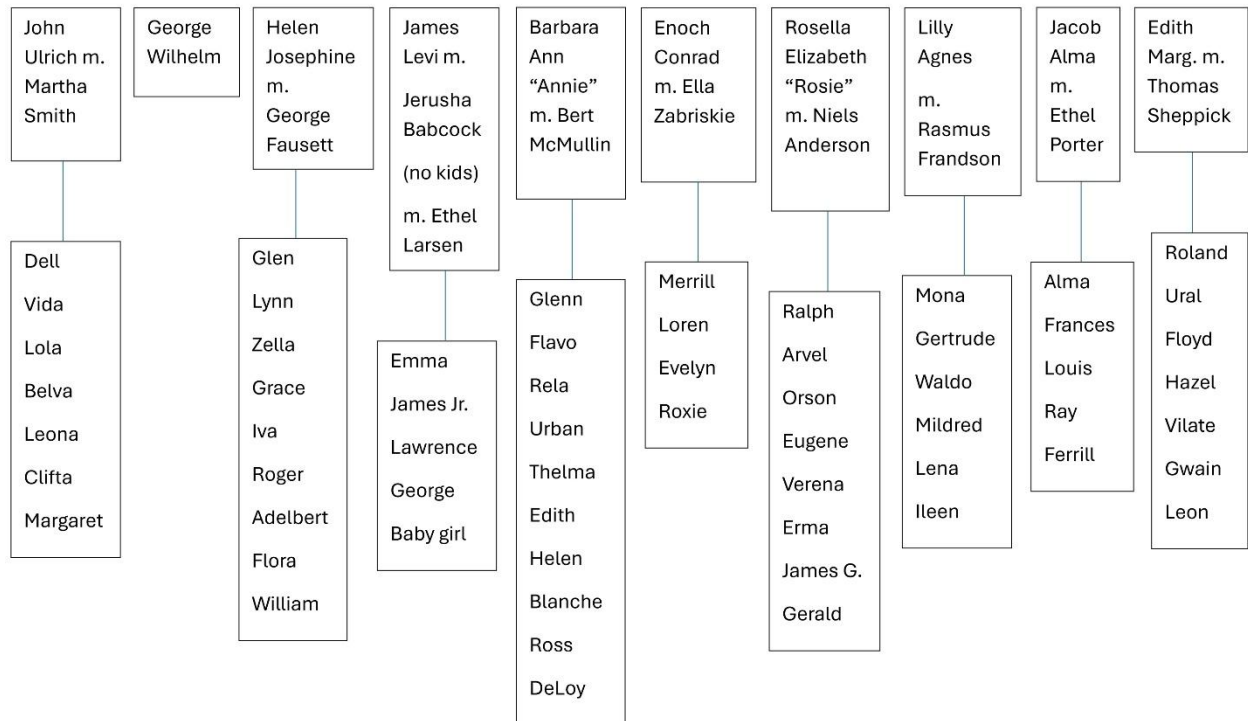
Toquerville

New Harmony

Price or Helper

Other

Margaretha and Ulrich Bryner's Children and Grandchildren



Margaretha Kuhn in Switzerland

On October 23, 1839, Margaretha¹ Kuhn was born in the tiny village of Bietenholz about 18 miles northeast of Zürich, Switzerland, which was about three and a half hours away on foot or by oxcart.²

Bietenholz is about a half mile south of Bisikon, the birthplace of Margaretha's father, Hans Ulrich Kuhn, who was 32 years old when she was born. Bisikon was a larger village of around 20 structures, where his great, great grandfather Caspar Kuhn was born in 1677. The Kuhn family may have arrived even earlier than that, as the town has been mentioned in records as early as 745 AD. Hans Ulrich Kuhn's mother, Magdalena Fischer, was born in a neighboring parish of Volketswil, two miles to the south. The Fischer line in Volketswil goes back at least to 1653.

Margaretha's mother, Regula Gut, was born in the neighboring parish town of Wangen-Brüttisellen, just two miles west of Bietenholz. Her family lived there before 1700.

When they were children, Margaretha's parents survived the "year without a summer" in 1816-17 caused by the catastrophic eruption of Mount Tambora in Indonesia, which occluded the earth's atmosphere with volcanic dust. It was still snowing that July in Switzerland, and the crops were meager, causing a great famine during which poor people ate grass, roots, and bark to survive.³ Margaretha's parents were married in their late 20's in Regula's parish in Wangen⁴ on May 3, 1835.

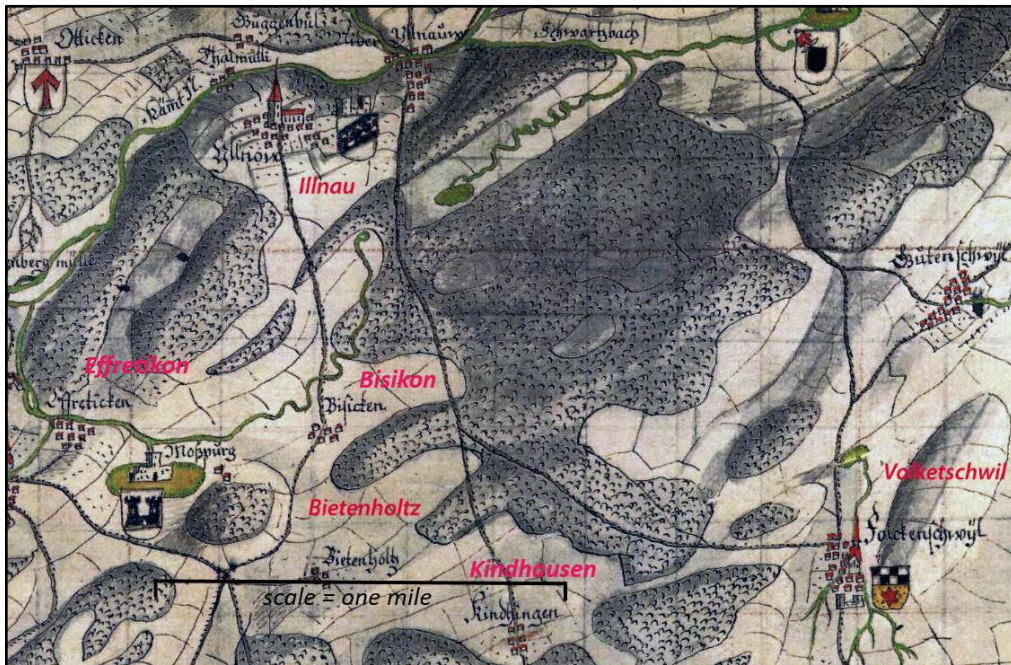
¹ Her name has been spelled on documents in many ways: Margurite, Margaritha, Margrett, Margreeta, Margret, and Margareth. The children of her sister wife Maria called her "Aunt Marget."

² Zürich is the largest city in Switzerland. Its history goes back to 15 B.C. when the Roman town of Turicum was established to control trade passing through the alps, and it has been inhabited ever since. Charlemagne brought Roman Catholicism to Switzerland around 800 A.D., when it became a crucial trade and pilgrimage center of wealth and importance. In 1218 the last member of Zürich's ruling family died, and Zürich became a free city. Its location in Europe contributed to its economic development. The city joined the Swiss Confederation in 1361 to oppose the Habsburgs. During the Reformation (1519-1600), Zürich became the cradle of the Swiss Protestant Reformation under Zwingli, attracting Protestant refugees who enriched the city, especially through the silk industry. The city prospered as an intellectual center. Napoleon invaded the city in 1798 and established the Helvetic Republic, taking over control of Zürich's subject lands, and created the modern canton of Zürich.

³ It was the same event that drove Joseph Smith's family from Vermont to Palmyra, New York and forced Mary Shelley and her friends indoors near Lake Geneva, where she wrote *Frankenstein*.

⁴ Some genealogies erroneously give Bisikon as the location, but it had no parish church.

Understandably, by the time that Margaretha was born, there were many Kuhn families⁵ living in Bisikon and the surrounding villages, who walked on Sundays to the parish church in Illnau. The parish of Illnau was first mentioned in 745 as a Catholic Parish but became Protestant during the Reformation.



Hans Conrad Gyger Map of Canton Zurich

Page e4 (Illnau) - closeup.jpg, FS K2W3-49H

Margaretha was baptized at the parish church in Illnau when she was four days old. By that time, her parents had produced three older children: Maria, nearly four, Rudolph,⁶ two, and Susanna, 16 months.

Bietenholz and Bisikon sit on a slight plateau that is elevated above the valley floor about 80 miles from the Alps. The unpaved road to the parish center, Illnau, was the connection to the outside world. For Margaritha's baptism and for the family to attend Sunday services, they went from Bietenholz through Bisikon to Illnau, a walk of about two miles downhill towards the Kempt River Valley. Bisikon had no church and shared a school with neighboring hamlets.

⁵ I had the opportunity to examine the photocopy of a page with four months of baptismal records from the parish baptismal records of the year 1827 researching one of Margaretha's future husbands, Hans Ulrich Bryner Jr. Eleven of the 23 children baptized during that period had the surname of Kuhn. Assuming the 19th century birthrate of 30-40 per 1,000, I estimate that the population of the entire parish was about 2,100 people from a half dozen villages, and a good share of them were named Kuhn.

⁶ All of Hans Ulrich Kuhn's boys had the first name of Hans, but went by their middle name, by which I will refer to them.

All news, marriage announcements, and political decrees were heard or posted at the church square in Illnau. Bietenholz was where the family slept and worked; Illnau was where they existed socially.⁷ The families in these villages lived in connected timber-framed houses sharing walls with steep thatched roofs called “flarzhausen” with low ceilings, small windows to keep heat in, and a large, tiled stove (*kachelofen*) that was the center of family life during the long winters. They had stables on the ground floor for their animals. Margaritha likely grew up in a flartzhaus.⁸



A modern flarzhaus in Bietenholz

Wikipedia

The Canton of Zürich was on the brink of industrialization, but in its villages like Bietenholz and Bisikon, the economy still relied on a mix of subsistence agriculture and cottage industry known as *heimarbeit*. The Kuhn family likely had a garden for vegetables, some fruit trees (apples/pears for cider were massive in this region), and perhaps a few cows or goats.

During the year that Margaretha was born, Zürich and its surrounding land was the epicenter of a political and social conflict known as the *Züriputzh* (Zürich coup), when about 8,000 conservative farmers from throughout the rural area surrounding the city carrying pitchforks, flails, cudgels, and shotguns overthrew the liberal government in Zürich.⁹

Margaretha’s younger sister Anna was born August 8, 1842, and baptized six days later at Illnau, followed by her brothers Friedrich in 1844 and Jakob in 1846. By the time that Jakob was born, Margaretha had probably started school in Bisikon. Unlike many other parts of the world where girls were excluded from education, the Swiss Protestant tradition (specifically the Reformed Church in Zürich) emphasized that every child needed to be able to read the Bible and religious texts. About seven years before she was born, the Canton of

⁷ Bisikon is protected today as a heritage site of “supra-regional importance.” Because a railway boom hit neighboring Effretikon in 1855, Bisikon was largely spared from modern development.

⁸ If you should visit Bietenholz, you would find a layout that is remarkably similar to what Margaritha would have seen in 1839. The timber-framed houses and the tight clustering of the buildings are very well preserved.

⁹ The appointment of a controversial German theologian named David Friedrich Strauss to a university chair, was perceived as a threat to the established church and traditional religious order. They were led by Bernhard Hirzel, a pastor in Zürich. The mob was faced by the military on Münsterplatz and 14 rebels were killed. The city president, Karl Eduard Ziegler calmed the protesters and set up a provisional state council that supported traditional values.

Zürich passed one of the most progressive education laws in the world,¹⁰ which made primary education compulsory, free, and secular. Even children from poor families like hers were required by law to attend. Not only were children who spoke the Swiss dialect taught “high German,” they learned basic math, singing, and Protestant



Zürich in 19th century

religion, and the girls were taught “feminine handiwork” (sewing, knitting, mending), which were vital to Margaretha’s later work.

Jakob died at 16 months of age when Margaretha was eight, leaving six children in the family, ages three through 12.

That year a brief civil war broke out throughout Switzerland,¹¹ which led to the Swiss Federal State in 1848, which standardized currency, postal service, and laws across cantons. Zürich became a key industrial hub. The new religious freedom was to be helpful for the introduction of Mormonism, which followed three years later.

Margaretha grew up in a staunchly rural, conservative, and deeply Protestant community supported by small farms and the textile trade. The women sat at spinning wheels or handlooms processing cotton or silk for merchants in Zürich. As a young girl, Margaretha was taught to spin cotton or silk and to help with a handloom in the main living room, although many of her neighbors were moving to Zürich and its surrounding villages to take part in the economic boom, including the families of Hans Ulrich Bryner and Caspar Wintsch, who would later re-enter her adult life. Margaretha’s parents had many sheep, and her brothers herded them on the green slopes of the Alps.¹²

One of Margaretha’s grandchildren¹³ wrote of Margaretha,

I remember my dear little Swiss grandmother. She told me many things about her homeland and taught me little songs in German. I have very fond memories of her. She was short, small, and quaint. Her early life was spent in Switzerland. Her parents had

¹⁰ *Volksschulgesetz* of 1832. In Canton Zürich the literacy rate in Margaretha’s day approached 90%.

¹¹ This was the Sonderbund War, which was essentially about uniting Catholics and Protestants.

¹² *FamilySearch* Memories, Helen Josephine Bryner, KWCP-GHZ.

¹³ The Life and Memoirs of Grace Fausett Henry, *FamilySearch* Memories KWCP-GHZ.

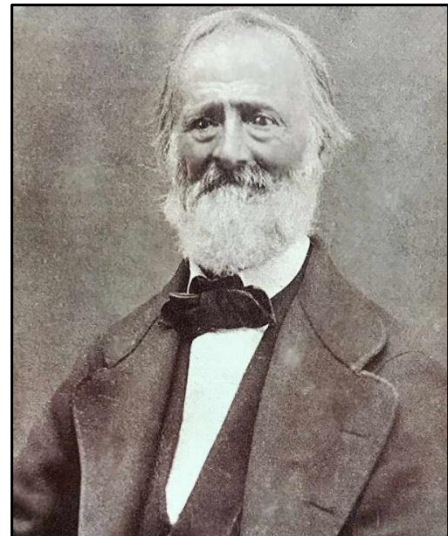
many sheep. Her brothers herded the sheep on the green slopes of the Alps. When Grandmother was still young, she learned to spin and weave the wool for clothing.

Another grandchild¹⁴ wrote,

She worked for a weaver. She spun thread and wove it into cloth, dyed it different colors, and even carried silkworms in her bosom to keep them warm until they hatched.

Margaretha Kuhn was 11 years old when the first Mormon missionaries came to Switzerland in November 1850 beginning in the French speaking regions to the south, but she would not meet them for another decade. Thomas B. H. Stenhouse was the first missionary to cross the Alps from Italy and begin proselyting that November, having been sent by Lorenzo Snow, his missionary companion.¹⁵ Stenhouse began preaching in Catholic Geneva and then moved from there to Lausanne in the Canton of Vaud, teaching the gospel in French.

Margaretha was nearly 13 when George Mayer¹⁶ was called on July 28, 1852, at a special conference in Salt Lake City as one of over 120 men to receive mission calls, the most extensive missionary effort the Church had yet undertaken. He was the first to arrive in the German-speaking part of Switzerland in March 1853, having been thrown out of Hamburg by unfriendly German police. He is said to have been a short man, who was cross-eyed and wore extremely thick dark lenses.



George Mayer 1854

Elder Stenhouse and two other French speaking elders met Mayer in Geneva and sent him initially to Basel. After baptizing 16 people in the village of Birsfelden on the French border, Mayer went to Baden, and then to the Zürich area in December 1853, where he joined up with another missionary who had been cast out of Germany named Jacob F. Secrist. They reached Zürich on December 3, 1853 and baptized five members of the Hug family in Weiningen, a town about six miles

¹⁴ Rela McMullin, Autobiographical History, *FamilySearch* Memories KWCZ-6KD.

¹⁵ History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Switzerland by Dale Z. Kirby, May 1971, a masters project.

¹⁶ Mayer was born in Manchester, New York in 1805, married Ann Yose in 1828 and moved to Indiana where he was a wagon maker and free mason. He joined the Mormon Church in 1843 and moved to Nauvoo, arrived in Utah in 1848.

west of Zürich, on the last day of January 1854. On February 19th, six members of the Mathys and Bryner families heard George Mayers preach near Zürich.

Secrist left for Basel on March 23rd. Mayer had earlier baptized people in Lake Zürich, but on March 24 he baptized six people in a bathhouse on the Sel River, and on the 27th, six more in Lake Zürich. City officials resisted him and put him in jail for a week on April 2nd.

In his prolific missionary journal¹⁷ George Mayer wrote, “On the 4th of May 1854 President Stenhouse came to see me and asked me to organize a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Zürich.” A new Swiss mission president, Daniel Taylor, replaced Stenhouse sometime around September.

Margaretha was 14 years old and would have known nothing of the Mormons at this point, but in nearby Zürich, the missionaries were baptizing scores of people.

By January 25, 1855, 15 Saints in Zürich were ready to emigrate to Utah, the first Swiss Mormons. They will reappear in Margaretha’s story.

That year, when Margaretha was 16, the railway from Zürich to Winterthur was built, and a station was built in Effretikon,¹⁸ the village just a mile north of Bietenholz. This was a defining moment in Margaretha’s youth. Instead of spinning at home, she walked daily to work in a knitting factory alongside many other girls in her parish.¹⁹ Before 1855, Bisikon was isolated, quiet, and rural, but during Margaretha’s teenage years the world opened up as neighboring Effretikon exploded in size and importance.

By this time the people in the area were aware of the Mormon Church. There had been over 100 baptisms in the Zürich area, and there were branches in Zürich and in Wiedikon, a village a few miles to the west of the city.

Daniel Tyler, who had succeeded Stenhouse as mission president wrote,

I found that the spirit of emigration exceeded anything I ever had witnessed, some having found their way into the Church with no other view than to get to America. Of this class, however, there were not very many in the Church. Many of the peasantry, thinking that our only desire was to swell our numbers, came and offered themselves for baptism, stating that as they had no property to detain them, they could be ready to emigrate at a week's or a day's notice. When they were told that they could not be received on such terms and that we wanted none except those

¹⁷ One transcription is available in Ulrich Bryner’s *FamilySearch* Memories, K2W3-49H.

¹⁸ Effretikon became more dominant than Illnau, and the two towns have now merged into Illnau-Effretikon since 1973, about eight miles NE of Zürich.

¹⁹ The location of the factory is not given in family stories, but it was likely in Effretikon.

who wished to serve God and build up His Kingdom and were willing to toil for its advancement, as well as their own, they went away sorrowful.²⁰

John L. Smith succeeded Daniel Tyler as mission president in 1856. During his term Henry Baer, a former president of the Zürich conference, openly rebelled,²¹ sending the police after the elders and saying he would fill the dungeons of Zürich with Saints. None went to jail, but 18 were excommunicated in Zürich for following Baer into apostasy.²² The Mormon Reformation²³ held sway in Zürich as in Utah during 1857, and errant Mormons were quickly disciplined. That year there were 182 baptisms, 44 emigrations, and 84 excommunications.²⁴

Margaretha Kuhn turned 18 in October 1857 and continued to work in the silk knitting factory during the next two years. Then in the winter of 1859 her life turned upside down when she became pregnant.²⁵

Her baby was born on September 29, 1859, and she named him Heinrich Gottfried Kuhn.²⁶

Rosella B. Anderson and Lilly B. Frandson amended their *History of Hans Ulrich Bryner Jr. Family* on a now discontinued website²⁷ of the Bryner Pioneer Museum in Price, Utah as follows,

She was married to a man by the name of Kuhn and had one son. Her husband was killed in the war. Note added: Family members now say that there was a family

²⁰ Daniel Tyler Mission Report, George Mayer Memories KWJZ-H4C.

²¹ I do not know why Baer rebelled but suspect that it was over the issue of polygamy.

²² Kirby p. 48/231,

²³ Partly due to drought and economic disruption in 1855 and 1856, Brigham Young decided that the Church needed a thorough reform. His first counselor, Jedediah M. Grant, took interest in the cause and led a movement now known as the Mormon Reformation beginning with a four-day conference in Kaysville in which 500 Church members were re-baptized. The movement spread rapidly through all the Mormon settlements. In December the entire all-Mormon Utah Territorial Legislature was rebaptized and reconfirmed by the Quorum of the Twelve. The Reformation movement, which extended through 1857, did much to strengthen the faithful members, but also heightened tensions with less faithful members and gentile neighbors. It was a time of spiritual revival that featured deep repentance, strict adherence to tithing and the Word of Wisdom, public confessions, increased orthodoxy, and in some rare cases, blood atonement.

²⁴ Swiss Italian German Mission manuscript history, December 6, 1881.

²⁵ This is a difficult and sensitive issue. As one of Margaretha's descendants I want to shed light on the story without introducing a false rumor. I leave it to the reader to choose which version is true. Regardless of who the actual father was, this pregnancy shaped the rest of Margaretha's life in important ways.

²⁶ Apparently he was sometimes called "Gotti" as a nickname. In his ward record in Price, he was distinguished from his half-brother, Henry Gottfried Bryner, as "Henry K." To avoid confusion, I will refer to him Henry K and to his half-brother as Henry G.

²⁷ This is no longer on the website <https://www.brynerpioneermuseum.com/> but it can be read under the title "Bryner Pioneer Museum" in *Family Search* Memories, KWJV-W4C.

tradition that her son was fathered by her older brother, and that she was not married in Switzerland.²⁸

In 19th-century Switzerland, particularly in rural, religiously conservative areas, giving birth out of wedlock was a major social transgression. Margaretha, who was only 19 years old, would have been branded a "fallen woman," bringing intense shame upon her and her entire family. In some cases, a family would send a pregnant daughter away to deliver the child in secret, perhaps to a distant relative, to preserve the family's honor. This was evidently not the case with Margaretha, although she did lose her position at the knitting factory. Her baby boy was baptized in Illnau on October 16th. Below the date in the christening record was the word "illegitum," the Latin word for illegitimate. Margaretha turned 20 one week later. "Being a very trustworthy employee, (she) was permitted (by the factory) to do her knitting at home where she could care for her baby."²⁹

For any neighbors who were aware of the possible incestuous nature of the relationship, the situation would have been a scandal of the highest order. Her immediate family was likely socially ostracized by the community, which would have been devastating in the close-knit rural setting.³⁰

It was probably in late 1859 that Margaretha and her baby left her parents' home in Bietenholz and went to Altstetten,³¹ a farming town three miles west of Zürich, where she moved in with the family of Caspar Wintsch. The family was originally from Kindhausen, a village only half a mile from Margaretha's home in Bietenholz and had moved away a decade earlier. Caspar was four years older than Margaretha's father, and the two families must have known each other well, although they attended church services in different parishes.

Caspar's wife Anna and their oldest daughter Magdalena (Mattie) had joined the Mormon Church four years earlier. Margaretha slept with Mattie and talked about Mormonism with

²⁸ Margaretha Kuhn Bryner and Hans Ulrich Bryner Jr. and Family, told by Rosella B. Anderson and Lilly B. Frandsen, Scribe Verena A. Nielsen, *FamilySearch* Memories KWJV-W4C. The authors are both children of Margaretha Kuhn and Ulrich Bryner. Together they have written or dictated several indispensable biographical documents on the Bryner family, upon which I have heavily relied for this story. The sisters were born in Toquerville in 1878 and 1879, and they have been eyewitnesses to many of the stories they tell. They are especially helpful for Margaretha's life after their births. Unfortunately, their information about her earlier life is necessarily second hand, and much of it was dictated from memory to Rosella's daughter, Verena A. Nielsen, sometime before 1947 when the two sisters were elderly. Their work is especially valuable for its information on their mother Margaretha's life in Price.

²⁹ Anderson and Frandsen, *ibid*.

³⁰ Source: A.I. query of Gemini.

³¹ Kaspar Heinrich Wintsch (1803-1866) History Written in July 1969 by Martha Louisa Wintch Bartholomew in Margaretha's *FamilySearch* memories erroneously gives the location as Altstätten, Sankt Gallen, a different place.

her.³² Margaretha resumed her trade of weaving while living there, hiring an elderly woman to care for her baby. One biography³³ claims that Margaretha stayed with the Wintsch family for about a year, and another says three months. In either case, she managed to move out on her own with her baby Henry K by late 1860.

³² Autobiography of Anna Caroline Wintsch Muhlestein, *FamilySearch* Memories KWVM-T84.

³³ Anderson and Frandsen, *ibid.*

Caspar Wintsch Family history

Caspar Wintsch was four years older than Margaretha's father, Hans Ulrich Kuhn, born on January 30, 1803, in the tiny rural village of Kindhausen. Caspar's sister Verena, who was just a year younger, later married Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr., who will soon appear as a character in this story. The Bryners were among the first people in Zürich to become Mormons.

Although Kindhausen was only a three-minute walk from Bietenholz, they were not in the same parish. Kindhausen belonged to the Volketswil³⁴ parish about a mile to the south, separated by a rise in elevation and fields above the Glatt Valley. There were only a few families in Kindhausen, and like the Kuhns in Bietenholz and Bisikon, the Wintsch family had lived there for generations.

There was a lot of sadness in Caspar's life. When he was not quite three years old and Verena was two, their father Martin Wintsch died, leaving his mother Regula with three small children. Their 18 month old brother, Hans Ulrich, died three weeks after his father's death. Caspar's mother married a second husband named Hans Jakob Vollenweider in Volketswil when Caspar was five, and he and Verena lost three more siblings by the time Caspar turned 11.

When he was 19, Caspar entered a common law relationship with a girl named Anna Gehring in Schaffhausen, a town about 23 miles to the north, and brought her home to Kindhausen, where they had a son named Solomon out of wedlock. Anna died giving birth, and the baby died eight months later. Perhaps the similarity to Margaretha Kuhn's situation was part of the reason that Caspar was later willing to take in Margaretha Kuhn and her baby.

Three months after losing his illegitimate son, 23 year old Caspar married Dorothea Weilenmann, a 30 year old woman from Bisikon, on February 2, 1826. Dorothea bore him seven children, four of whom died young. Then she died while bearing the last child in February of 1835, leaving Caspar with nine year old Rudolph, Heinrich (later Henry), who was nearly seven, and five year old Anna Barbara.

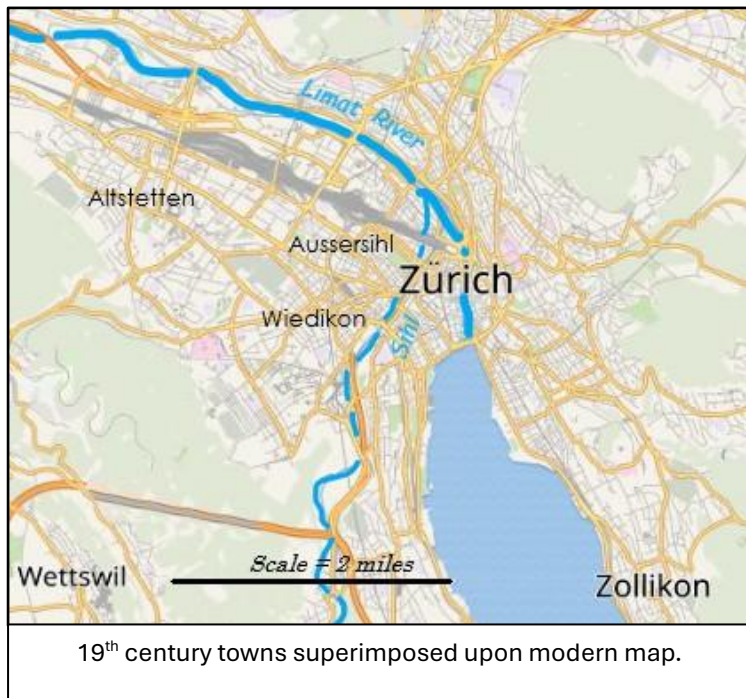
Soon Caspar married Dorothea's younger sister Anna, who had been keeping house and taking care of the children after her sister died. This happened at about the same time that Margaretha Kuhn's parents were married. Since the two families lived only about a mile apart, they must have known each other well and may even have been close friends. Anna

³⁴ I will use the modern standard spelling of the town's name. The historic name in Swiss church books of 1600-1900 is Volketswyl. There are many variations in family records such as Volketschweil and others.

bore eight more children. Their second child Magdalena, known to all as Mattie, was the same age as Margaretha Kuhn, and they probably knew each other as children.

Mattie and Margaretha were ten years old when Caspar and Anna left Kindhausen and moved their family to Aussersihl near Zürich, probably hoping to improve their fortunes as the area began to industrialize. Their sixth child Louisa was born there on February 29, 1849 and christened in the Grossmünster Cathedral in Zürich. Another child, Anna Caroline, was born in Aussersihl on January 12, 1851, and six year old Elizabeth died the following October.

Aussersihl had a population of about 2,500 people, and it was beginning to grow rapidly due to the industrial revolution, primarily housing factory workers, many of whom worked a mile or two away in the walled city of Zürich, which had more like 35,000 people. Heinrich Wintsch, Caspar's oldest son from his first wife, married Anna Burkhard in Aussersihl on March 6, 1852. The next year Caspar built a two story house with a cellar and a little farm at neighboring



19th century towns superimposed upon modern map.

Altstetten, a farming village about four miles northwest of Zürich. His daughter Anna Caroline later wrote a detailed description of the house, which had four rooms upstairs and four more downstairs. This is where they were living when they met the Mormon missionaries.

According to Elder George Mayer's journal, he baptized 12 people on April 22, 1854 in a bathhouse on the Sel River, which separates Aussersihl from Zürich, and blessed their children. Among them was the family of Hans Ulrich Bryner Jr.,³⁵ the son of Caspar's younger sister Verena, and several others of her family members, and Verena told her brother Caspar about it. Caspar was not interested in joining the Mormons at first, but he allowed his wife Anna and their oldest daughter Mattie to go to meetings with Verena.

³⁵ Hans Ulrich Bryner Jr. went by "Ulrich." This is the name for him that I will use in the rest of this story to distinguish from Verena's husband Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr.

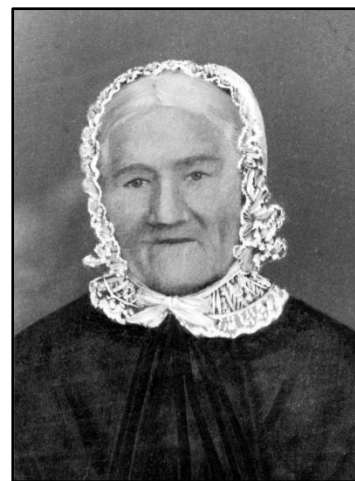
When George Mayer returned to Utah on January 25, 1855, he brought home 15 of the first Swiss Saints, aided by the Perpetual Immigration Fund. Among them were Caspar Wintsch's nephew and niece, Casper and Barbara Bryner, and John³⁶ Mathys, whose sister Maria was married to their older brother, Ulrich Bryner Jr. Shortly after settling in Lehi on March 20, 1856, Barbara and John Mathys were married in Salt Lake City.

While Mayer and the Swiss Saints were on their way to Zion, Anna Wintsch was baptized in Zürich on August 12, 1855, and her daughter Mattie was baptized five days later. This all happened about five years before Margaretha Kuhn moved in with the Wintsch family. She was still a girl of 15 years, living in the village of Bietenholz with her family. Margaretha probably did not even know the Bryners, since they had moved to Zürich before she was born. And Margaretha still knew little or nothing of Mormonism.

The following year, more of the children of Caspar's sister Verena Bryner emigrated, including her son Ulrich Bryner Jr., his wife, and several of Verena's grandchildren.

Verena and her husband Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr. emigrated a year later in the spring of 1857 with their daughter, who was also named Verena, and a three year old grandson named Henry Gottfried Bryner, arriving in the Salt Lake Valley in the fall of 1857. They all settled in Lehi, but not for long.

In late 1859 or early 1860, they were all called to leave Lehi and settle in Plain City near Ogden. Elizabeth Ann was born there to Ulrich Bryner Jr. and his wife Maria. By this time John Mathys and Barbara had three children under four.



Verena Wintsch Bryner

About a year after Margaretha Kuhn had moved out of the Wintsch house in Altstetten, Caspar Wintsch allowed his now 22 year old daughter Mattie to follow her aunt Verena's family to Utah, traveling with the family of Johannes Lehmann.³⁷ Lehmann was a wealthy Mormon convert,³⁸ who is said to have financed the crossing of 19 Latter-day Saints. He and his wife had four children aged 1-10, and his wife was pregnant with a daughter who was born shortly after their arrival. The Lehmanns offered to pay Mattie's fare if she would

³⁶ His Swiss name of Johannes was soon anglicized to John, and I will refer to him as John.

³⁷ *FamilySearch* KWJX-SDL.

³⁸ He is said to have arrived with 40,000 Swiss Francs. That seems impossible—this would be over ten times the average annual income of Americans at that time.

help take care of their little children on the way. In that way she arrived in Utah a year before the rest of the family.

Upon arrival in Utah Territory on October 1, 1861, Mattie's wagon company went directly to Lynne,³⁹ which was formerly known as Bingham's Fort. The fort had been built as a protection against Indians in 1853 centered at what is now 1000 West 2nd Street in Ogden. There is no doubt that Magdalena went straight to her Aunt Verena and her extended family, who had been living about five miles northwest of Lynne in Plain City for over a year.

Mattie probably accompanied Verena's family to Salt Lake City the following week to attend general conference in the bowery on temple square. They were shocked during the second session to hear Brigham Young read from the pulpit a list of 309 families, who were called to move immediately to the so-called Cotton Mission in the south of the territory.

Shortages due to the Civil War had threatened the Saints' supply of cotton, and they would now produce their own. Most of those called were converts from the cotton belt in the southern states, but also on the list were 29 Swiss and German families including the Bryner and Mathys families from Zürich, who were to establish orchards and vineyards to supply wine for the sacrament and to sell to miners in nearby Nevada. They were to leave by October 28, 1861, accompanied by the apostles Erastus Snow and Orson Pratt. This gave them less than a month to gather their crops and supplies.

Church leaders explicitly recommended that young single immigrants to the Cotton Mission should consider marriage before leaving Salt Lake City. The reason was practical: the journey was 300 miles of harsh desert, and the destination was an unsettled wilderness. A woman traveling as part of an established family unit would have better protection, could share supplies, and make a clearer claim to a lot once they arrived.

Mattie received her personal endowment on October 18th and was sealed to her cousin's husband John Mathys as a plural wife on November 10, 1861 in the Endowment House.⁴⁰ The first wagons were on the road by then, and the Swiss saints traveled in a group led by Daniel Bonneli,⁴¹ who had hastily married Ann Haight on October 25th. The company stopped in various settlements along the way, where a few families dropped out. One source claims that some of them were left at Fort Harmony to help John D. Lee with agricultural projects and the construction of a new "social hall." When the main group arrived at the point where the Virgin River splits below Toquerville, Orson Pratt led 50

³⁹ This is not to be confused with Lynn, which is in Box Elder County about 95 miles west of Tremonton.

⁴⁰ Casper Bryner had married Magdalena Gubler the previous August 17th.

⁴¹ Daniel Bonneli had been baptized by George Mayer at the bathhouse on the River Sihl in 1854 and returned as a missionary to baptize his father in Canton Thurgau. He and his brothers converted scores of converts in Switzerland before serving a two year mission in England. They emigrated with their father in 1857 and lived in the Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward.

families up the river to join the Toquerville settlement, while Erastus Snow led the rest south.

The advanced scouts arrived between the two volcanic ridges that flank St. George on November 25th. The first wagons entered the valley on November 30th, and the main body on December 4-6, camped in their wagons along two streams that emerged from springs.⁴²

The camp council decided to plow ditches from the several springs surrounding the valley and to dam the Virgin River to divert water for irrigation. A heavy rain began on Christmas day that continued for 40 days. The first camp census on January 2, 1862 counted 748 people in 209 wagons.

They lived out of their wagons that wet winter. Many of the Swiss families were staying in or around old Fort Clara built by Jacob Hamblin, which collapsed in January, when the Santa Clara River flooded. On the night of February 7, 1862, the torrential rain also caused the collapse of Ft. Harmony, about 75 miles to the north. Most of the people in the fort had evacuated it, but two of John D. Lee's children were killed when a wall collapsed.

Mattie died in the Dixie Valley on February 19, 1862.⁴³ According to the ward record, she died of "mountain fever," 12 days short of her 23rd birthday. Mattie was the first recorded death among the pioneers to Dixie, but there were many more that first year.⁴⁴

Verena's husband, Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr., died of "bloody flux" on March 2, 1862 according to the St. George death register, but according to his bio by Lura Redd⁴⁵ he fell from a load of hay and struck his already weak and sore back on a ledge and died a day or so later. He was three weeks short of 66 years old, said to be the first person to be buried in the St.

⁴² Saint George, Utah Original Pioneers, Barnum and Peine, 1999.

⁴³ Church History Library CR 375 8, St. George ward records, p. 66/372. This conflicts with her Billion Graves Index, which gives the death date as 15 March 1862. A photo of the headstone is posted, but there is no legible date on the photo.

⁴⁴ Seventeen deaths were recorded during 1862 according to the St. George ward record. Three others were young adult women. Most of the others were young children, dying largely from infections.

⁴⁵ Lura Redd KWCG-8J1 was a granddaughter of Maria through Verena. Born in 1891 in New Harmony, Lura lived to be 100 years old and never married. When she was 14, her family moved to Alberta, Canada, where she was a noted artist and teacher. She was an avid genealogist since the 1920s, and in 1973 she wrote a book called *The Utah Redds and their Progenitors*. Her 20 page work on Hans Ulrich Bryner, Jr. is the most complete of his several biographies and generally well researched, especially her account of Ulrich's crossing the plains with the Martin and Willie Company. I have relied on her writing more than any other single source. However, like my own writing, her work is based on family stories and earlier biographies and contains some inaccuracies.

George cemetery.⁴⁶ They were still living out of their wagons, since the lottery for the fair distribution of lots had not yet been held.

John Mathys' family located first on the east side of the valley near what was known as the adobe yard. He was later given a lot in the southwest part of St. George that joined the Black Ridge. There he built a cabin out of cottonwood trees, appending his covered wagon box as a bedroom for the two oldest children. The Zürich families were granted lots close together, creating the so-called "Swiss Block" located around 300 East and 200 South.

When Mattie left Switzerland, she and her mother Anna were the only baptized Mormons in the Wintsch family, but that changed before Mattie arrived in Zion.

Caspar's youngest daughter Anna, who was baptized in September 1861 wrote:

My mother and Mattie joined the Church a long time before father and the rest of us did. But father never spoke anything against it. He let mother go to their meetings. He let them hold them in our house. And he stood up for the Mormons. He loved the elders and studied his Bible faithfully. One night Elder Miller came to our home after we younger children had gone to bed. He asked Father if he was ready to be baptized. Father told him he was. He awakened us children and we all went to a big reservoir that had been made by the railroad in digging gravel. That night Father, Louise, I, and the boys were baptized.⁴⁷ On our way home it seemed to me, (that) I didn't touch the ground. I seemed to be flying. I was so happy, I ran ahead all the way. Louise was twelve years old, and I was ten.

Zürich branch records show that Margaretha Kuhn was baptized in Lake Zürich by J. T. Gerber and confirmed by U. Farrer on October 23, 1861, about three years after her baby's birth and a month after Caspar Wintsch's baptism. She was 22 years old and living in Zollikon, a town on the shore of Lake Zürich about three miles south of Zürich on what is called the Goldküste (Gold Coast), an exclusive high society district. She was probably working as a laundress, a servant, or a nanny.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The facts that Mattie died first, and Hans Ulrich was the first to be buried, seem to conflict. Mattie's death date comes from the St. George ward records. That Hans Ulrich was buried first comes from family tradition and cemetery records. It is possible that both are true.

⁴⁷ Caspar was 58 years old. According to Zürich branch records, Caspar and the two girls were baptized September 7, 1861, but Anna was wrong about Jakob and Ulrich (ages 24 and 18). They were baptized December 12, 1861, in Lake Zürich.

⁴⁸ I could only find a single person among the 600 in the Zürich branch records who was also living in Zollikon—Jacob Huber a 24-year-old who had been baptized in 1860.

According to Margaretha's daughters Rosella and Lilly,

Her family treated her cruelly because of her baptism, but, being favored by her father, he gave her money and told her to go with the Saints if she wished. She did not leave immediately, although the Wintsch family was already preparing to join Mattie.⁴⁹

After several months of preparation, Caspar Wintsch and his family left Zürich on April 30, 1862.⁵⁰ They had sold their home and farm for gold. Having received a letter from Mattie explaining that she and Verena had moved to St. George, they were planning to settle there as well. Margaretha Kuhn did not travel with them.

Caspar traveled with his wife Anna, their sons Jacob,⁵¹ who was 24 years old, Johannes Ulrich, who was 19, two girls, Louise and Anna Caroline, aged 13 and 11. Also with them was Heinrich Wintsch, the youngest son of Caspar's first wife Dorothea, with his wife Anna and their three young sons.⁵² After traveling an overland distance of 466 miles by rail, they sailed from the harbor of Le Havre, France, accompanied with 109 Saints from France and Switzerland. They were the first group of Mormons to take that route.⁵³ When they registered with immigration in New York City, the boys anglicized their names to Jacob, John, Henry, and Charles, and dropped the "s" from Wintsch.⁵⁴ The family had to wait three weeks in Florence to organize their pioneer company. Twenty-four year old Jacob, who had been ill for much of the trip, died near Omaha, and Caspar's wife Anna died two days out of Omaha on September 4, 1862, both of cholera. The family traveled west with the William H. Dame freight company, which they joined after the two deaths.

In Emigration Canyon they were greeted by John Mathys, who had come looking for them. He reported the sad news of Mattie's death in Dixie.⁵⁵ The Dame Freight train arrived in the Valley on September 24, 1862.

⁴⁹ Anderson and Frandsen

⁵⁰ Zürich branch membership record.

⁵¹ Jacob had married Margaret Schwarz around 1860, but she died a year later with no children.

⁵² The only member of Caspar's family not to join the Church was Barbara, Dorothea's daughter. Barbara had married Heinrich Hauscheer, and they lived in a beautiful place near a lake.

⁵³ By 1858 a continuous rail link existed between Zürich and Basel, and in 1863 a new direct line connected Basel to Paris and then to Le Havre on the English Channel. The trip took about two days. There is an extended account of the trip in "The History of Henry Wintch," *FamilySearch* Memories KWJV-4C5.

⁵⁴ The middle name of Heinrich has been picked up by some of Caspar's pedigrees, but it occurs only in the Pioneer Company record and may have been added out of confusion, as Caspar's son Heinrich (with family) was also part of the same company. I will try to spell the surname as Wintch in the American setting.

⁵⁵ According to Henry's biography, *FamilySearch* Memories KWJV-4C5, Caspar learned of Mattie's death while they were still in Nebraska, but kept it secret from the young girls, who were still grieving the deaths of their mother and brother, until they learned it from John Mathys.

Despite Mattie's death, Caspar had planned to follow his sister Verena to Dixie, but the animals were too weak, and so were the family members, so after staying in Salt Lake City for three days, they stopped in Lehi, where Caspar bought a farm and a house, and there they stayed even though his sister's family had left Lehi three years earlier. His married son Heinrich, now known as Henry, worked at the grist and saw mill in American Fork Canyon, and in 1865 he and his family were called to help settle Richfield.

Margaretha becomes a Mormon and goes to America

I know nothing about the doings of Margaretha Kuhn and her son Henry K during the one year interval between her baptism and the departure of the Wintsch family. Most likely she continued to work in Zollikon. I don't know whether the branch was still meeting at the Bryner house, since the family had emigrated. Father Johannes Mathys was still in Wiedikon although his last son Johann Heinrich (referred to in America as Henry), who was then 28 years old, had gone to Utah with Caspar Wintsch's family. Father Johannes' first wife Anna Dorothea had died on the last day of 1869, but according to her dying wish, he married her younger sister Maria, but had not yet fulfilled his promise to take her to Zion.

As Margaretha Kuhn was estranged from her family, so likely was Hans Rudolph Kuhn, her older brother and the presumed father of her baby. Interestingly, Hans Rudolph emigrated to America shortly before Margaretha.⁵⁶

Margaretha left Zürich on May 4th, 1863,⁵⁷ about a month after her brother's departure, but instead of taking a train through Germany and boarding a steamship to America as he did, or following the Wintsch family's route through Le Havre, she traveled across the lowlands with a group of about 40 other Swiss Saints from surrounding areas by train to Rotterdam or Antwerp, and from there by steamship across the North Sea to the east coast of England, and then by train to Manchester. This was about eight months after her baptism, and her son Henry K was not quite four years old.

I could not find any other members of the Zürich branch in the group. However, Nicholas Mühlstein and John Liehti,⁵⁸ two watchmakers from Bern,⁵⁹ accompanied Margaretha all the way to Utah Territory and may have taken her and her child under their wing. Their names were listed near hers on the Church Emigration document.⁶⁰

In Liverpool they boarded the ship *Antarctica*, piloted by Captain George C. Stouffer. The group was financed by the Perpetual Immigration Fund, which had transported many

⁵⁶ Now 26 years old, Rudolph found his way to Hamburg, Germany, where he boarded a steamship bound for New York City on April 18, 1863. After a brief layover in Southampton, England to pick up more passengers, he arrived in New York City on May 4th and lived there for the rest of his life. In 1869 he married a widow from Prussia named Caroline Heider Langer in Manhattan. She had been married previously to Carlos Langer. Hans Rudolph later married 34 year old Maria Anna Apiger Bolhretler in February 15, 1877, also in Manhattan. He had no known children in America. *FamilySearch* KPSQ-PXN.

⁵⁷ Zürich branch records p. 523.

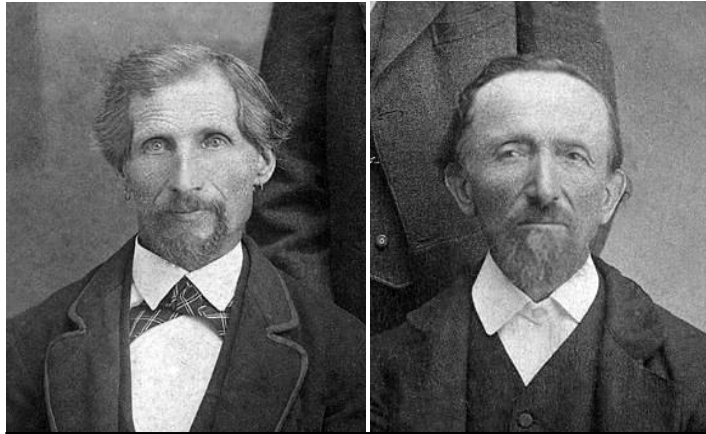
⁵⁸ John Liehti was a 34 year old bachelor, who was baptized near Bern in 1855 and was the person who later baptized the Mühlstein family in 1862, a relatively new convert like Margaretha.

⁵⁹ Bern is about 80 miles southwest of Zürich.

⁶⁰ Emigration book 1047, Church Historian's office. There is also a transcription in Margaretha's *FamilySearch* Memories.

earlier groups of Mormons, and organized by the British Mission. George Q. Cannon was the agent who arranged the passage of 483 Saints including his own wife Elizabeth, their two small children, the youngest only two days (!) old, and a teenage baby sitter named Rosey Matthews,⁶¹ whom the Cannons later adopted.

The Mormon passengers came from thirteen different countries including England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, America, France, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Accompanied by a number of elders, President Cannon held a meeting on board the ship before departure to organize the company, appointing Elder John Needham to preside. The emigrants were divided into three companies. Elder Johannes



Nicholas Muhlestein and Johannes Leichti

Huber,⁶² whose name appeared next to Margaretha's on the immigration list, was in charge of the Swiss passengers, and may have been a welcome support to Margaretha and her child, since she probably could not speak a word of English.

They sailed on May 23, 1863. The Mormon British newspaper, the *Millennial Star*, provided this account of the voyage:

During the voyage across the Atlantic Ocean good provisions were meted out to the different divisions of the company. During the first week at sea, contrary winds caused slow progress. On the second Sunday out (May 31st) the sacrament was administered in each ward... During the voyage most of the Saints enjoyed good health, although there were a few cases of measles among the children.

This seems understated, as 10 children and an adult died during the crossing. Two of the children who died belonged to Margaretha's friend Nicholas Mühlstein. One of them was four and the other only 10 months of age. There were also two births, and one of the babies was appropriately named Antarctica Marie Petersen. The other newborn died. Two

⁶¹ Rosey is my first cousin, three times removed. See my Brief Biography of Rosey Matthews, *FamilySearch Memories* K248-BVK.

⁶² Johannes Huber was a professional fisherman on Lake Konstanz, which is about 37 miles from Zürich, baptized in 1860. His parents immigrated that year, leaving him behind to serve as a missionary, which qualified him to lead the German-speaking immigrants although he was still only 21 years old and single.

couples were married. After a 48 day passage, the *Antarctica* dropped anchor in New York harbor on 10 July 1863.⁶³ That is when the name of Margaretha's son was anglicized to "Henry."

It was an incredibly fraught time for them to arrive. The Battle of Gettysburg had ended just a week earlier, and the North was reeling from the casualties and the burden of moving wounded soldiers and supplies. It is not clear how long the immigrants were in New York City before securing train passage, but possibly long enough to witness the outbreak of the infamous draft riots, which began three days after their arrival. This was one of the deadliest civil uprisings in U.S. history, which featured violent street fighting and arson. I found no evidence that Margaretha tried to contact her recently arrived brother in New York.

Because of the Civil War, it was impossible for them to travel via the usual route for Mormon immigrants on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, which were controlled by the Confederates, so they traveled the whole distance to the beginning of the Mormon Trail by rail. The Union Army had first priority for all of the railway services, and the few available passenger coaches were reserved for troops or wealthy travelers, so the Mormon immigrants were transported in refitted cattle cars with few or no seats or windows, and there was little ventilation in the summer heat. The train was likely stopped by Union soldiers to check for rebels or hidden weapons. Their route went through Albany, Niagara, Detroit, Chicago, Quincy, and finally St. Joseph, Missouri, the end of the rail line. Passage through Missouri had been the hardest leg, as it was a "border state," plagued by guerilla warfare and an ever present threat of sabotage to the railway. At St. Joseph, the immigrants had to camp with minimal shelter, awaiting a steamboat to take them the last 140 miles to Florence, Nebraska where the Mormon Trail began.

Brigham Young had sent nine experienced ox drivers from Utah Territory to meet the immigrants from the *Antarctica* and several other ships totaling about 2,700 pioneers, and it took weeks to organize all of them. Luckily, Margaretha and Henry K were assigned to the Peter Nebeker Company, which left Florence on July 26th, the third company to leave for the Valley. Johannes Leichti, Nicholas Mühlstein, Johannes Huber, and Elizabeth Hoagland with her children were all in their company.

Margaretha left no account of the journey, but her friend Johannes Leichti recalled,

(The) Peter Nebeker Company was well organized with 70 covered wagons that left the Missouri River at Florence, Nebraska (Omaha) July 25-26, 1863, traveling from 12

⁶³ From Mühlstein *FamilySearch* Memories KWJN-JFZ.

to 16 miles per day. The people walked, only the sick were permitted to ride. The ox teams were to haul the food, bedding and clothing but the people must walk.

Georgiana, the two and a half year old daughter of George Q. Cannon and his wife Elizabeth died September 2nd, at Sweetwater in Nebraska Territory.⁶⁴

The wagon master, Peter Nebeker, gave his own account⁶⁵ of the trip in a letter sent ahead from Ft. Laramie on August 25, 1863, four days before their arrival.

It includes fifty Church wagons, loaded with machinery and passengers,⁶⁶ and eighteen independent wagons. There are about five hundred souls under my charge... During the first two weeks of our journey the weather was very wet, not affording us dry roads (for) two days together; notwithstanding, the health of the company has been very good considering the state of the people when we left the Missouri River. There has been eight deaths—two old persons, five children and Amelia Stumpf, aged 28, killed by lightning.⁶⁷ We experienced last Friday the 21st one of those sudden and terrific thunder storms, killing the young woman, leveling to the ground, as though dead, seven of the cattle in the lead team and shocking both man and beast for quite a distance down the train.

The Nebeker Company arrived in Salt Lake City on September 25, 1863, and camped in tents on Pioneer Square while they figured out what to do next. After a day or two, Nicholas Mühlstein's family and Johannes Liechti went straight to Provo, having heard that a watchmaker was needed there.

Margaretha worked for a family in Cottonwood through the following winter.⁶⁸ When spring came, she received word from her old friend Caspar Wintch asking her to come to Lehi to keep house for him.

It had been a year and a half since Caspar's wife Anna and their son Jakob died while crossing the plains, and he was living with his three remaining children. His son Ulrich was

⁶⁴ Their infant son "little George," who had left Liverpool when he was two days old, survived the trip, but died just after Christmas at seven months of age.

⁶⁵ *Deseret News*, August 25, 1863.

⁶⁶ The wagons were loaded with telegraph wires and roofing for Salt Lake Tabernacle. (Autobiography of Thomas Henry White in Johann Mauchle Memories KWJL-C12.) Mauchle was a convert from St. Gallen on Lake Konstanz, baptized that January with his family. Four of his children ages 16-22 traveled the entire way with Margaretha, but he and his wife both died while crossing the plains. Three of the children settled in Payson and the other in Millcreek.

⁶⁷ Two girls from Johannes Huber's branch in Konstanz were among the company, one of whom was killed by lightning at Chimney Rock, the other of whom he married one month after their arrival. After two weeks in Salt Lake City, they joined his parents in Payson, where they stayed all winter. In the spring of 1864, they moved to Mound City on Snake Creek in the Heber Valley, the Swiss colony that later became part of Midway.

⁶⁸ Anderson and Frandsen.

21 and a member of the Lehi militia, Louisa was 15, and Anna was 13. Margaretha moved in with them and resumed her old trade, spinning yarn and weaving cord rope and blankets.

Margaretha's travel partner, Johannes Liechti, who had spent the winter in Provo with the family of his friend Nicholas Mühlstein, set out for Cottonwood in a wagon pulled by a cow and an ox to investigate buying a farm. He stayed overnight in Lehi with the Wintch family, where he met 15 year old Louisa and canceled his plans to move to Cottonwood. On August 24, 1864, Johannes Liechti and Louisa Wintch were married in Provo and made their home there.

Margaretha Kuhn married Caspar Wintch in Lehi on November 8, 1864. She was 25 years old, and Caspar was 61. His youngest daughter Anna, who was 13 at the time of the wedding, later wrote that she helped Margaretha to spin and weave.

Margaretha's son Henry K was five by this time. It appears that he was not entirely normal.⁶⁹ He never married and he never learned to read or write.⁷⁰ And he never lived independently during his 69 years. One family historian⁷¹ later wrote:

While Henry (K) was still a very young boy he met with several serious accidents. Once he fell in a very deep well and almost drowned. His leg was injured while he was being rescued. Another time he was badly burned under the knee and the back of his leg. This shortened the muscles and drew the lower part of the leg up, crippling him for the rest of his life. After the death of his mother in February 1906, he lived with his brothers and sisters, going from one of their homes to another. He would stay about a year or so at each place, doing whatever was asked of him without a word of complaint. He had a remarkable memory. He could remember dates of every important happening. Many people came to him for information concerning things that had happened.⁷²

Caspar and Margaretha had a daughter together on April 1, 1865.⁷³ They named her Mary. Caspar was rebaptized in Lehi that year by Abel Evans and William Southwick on June 7th.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ While children of unrelated parents have a 2-3% risk of major birth defects, children of siblings have a risk of over 40%, including both physical and mental disabilities. (Wikipedia, Inbreeding.)

⁷⁰ According to the U.S. 1900 census.

⁷¹ Edith Ann Prince, *FamilySearch* Memories KVVH-DKM. Edith was a granddaughter of Maria, Margaretha's sister-wife.

⁷² To a modern person, this sounds very much like autism.

⁷³ Church History Library CR 375 8, Lehi Ward records, p. 103\400. The record reads, "Gaspard and Margret Winch."

⁷⁴ Lehi ward records p.133/140. His name was incorrectly given as "Henry Wince Sr.," but the dates and family data support this being Caspar, Henry's father. The late blessing of Mary and the repeated misspellings of Caspar's name suggest to me that he was not well known to his ward officers. Perhaps he and Margaretha were not active participants in ward meetings.

Seven other family members were rebaptized that day including Caspar's oldest son Heinrich, Heinrich's wife Anna, his son Henry, and Caspar's other children John, Anna, and Louisa.⁷⁵ Margaretha was not rebaptized.

A hundred miles south of Lehi, a fight occurred in Manti on April 8, 1865, between an interpreter named John Lowry and the young Ute Chief Arapeen, who with Black Hawk, the son of the aging chief Sanpitch of the Sanpete Valley and a handful of braves, had showed up unannounced at a town council meeting.⁷⁶ Two days later the Utah Black Hawk War broke out when Black Hawk led 16 Utes to steal a cattle herd outside of Manti. The Black Hawk War was most intense through 1867 but continued through 1872. It was mostly fought in central and southern Utah, but the territorial militia, known as the Nauvoo Legion, was reactivated statewide including in Lehi. When Brigham ordered the Saints in the Sevier Valley to move into the fort at Manti, Henry Wintch's family left Richfield and moved into a dugout in the fort.⁷⁷

Caspar Wintch, who was by this time 63 years old, died in Lehi, Utah, August 30, 1866, when Margaretha was about eight months pregnant with their second child. His daughter Anna wrote: "Father died four years after we came to Lehi. I was lonely after he died, so I went to Provo to see my sister, Louise, who had a young baby. Anna was fifteen when she left Margaretha, and she didn't come back."⁷⁸



Muhlestein family with Anna (R)

Two weeks later, Margaretha and Caspar's daughter Emma was born on September 13, 1866. Apparently neither of her two teenage stepdaughters came from Provo to assist her. Margaretha now had a newborn baby, 16 month old Mary, and Henry K, who was now nearly seven, to take care of by herself, but she would soon receive help from an unexpected source.

⁷⁵ Louisa was married and living in Provo at the time—she must have been visiting.

⁷⁶ The Mormon settlers assumed that the Indians had appeared to settle differences over 15 cattle (including one of Lowry's) who had recently been killed by the Indians for food, but the Indians were demanding compensation for the recent death of Arapeen's father, who had died near Gunnison that winter from smallpox, and they blamed it on the settlers. An argument ensued with Lowry, who may have been drunk. Lowry dragged the young chief by the hair from his horse and administered a severe beating before the two young men could be dragged apart.

⁷⁷ The Wintch family never left Manti and have prominent citizens there to this day. (Many of the Wintch family anglicized their name to Wintch.)

⁷⁸ Anna stayed there working for Nicholas Muhlestein as a hired girl, and then she married him in polygamy April 18, 1868, the same day that he was sealed to his first wife.

On September 28, 1866, a wagon train with new immigrants arrived in Salt Lake City, and Caspar's son John took a wagon up to greet them.⁷⁹ There he met and instantly fell in love with a 22 year old girl from England named Frances Sarah Smith. Her father had died in Wanship the previous day, just 50 miles from his destination, and the family had nowhere to go. John put Frances, her grieving mother Elizabeth, and probably her 22 year old brother Joseph and his new wife Mary Ann⁸⁰ into his wagon and took them to Margaretha's house in Lehi, where Elizabeth Smith took up residence with her.⁸¹ John Ulrich moved Frances to Midway, where they married on October 4, 1866⁸² and made their home. Elizabeth Smith's son Joseph and Mary Ann moved on to Fillmore.



Elizabeth Smith and
(probably) Emma

So, five weeks after Caspar's death, Elizabeth Smith and Margaretha Wintch were left together to grieve their husbands and take care of Margaretha's newborn infant and two little children. As soon as she was able, Margaretha resumed her weaving to make a living for her family.

According to Louisa,⁸³ after his death Caspar's ranch land was divided among three men, all founding settlers of Nephi. This suggests that Caspar had a farm on grazing land near Saratoga Springs where Conrad Naegle lived, and that the families held a mortgage on the Wintch farm property.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Anna Wintch erroneously wrote that her brother went to Salt Lake *with* their father, and they brought some immigrants back with them. This is only partly correct—Caspar died a month before the immigrants arrived.

⁸⁰ Joseph and Mary had married in Nebraska, just as the wagon train was leaving.

⁸¹ Anderson and Frandsen wrote: "An older lady, Frances Smith, came to live with her and help care for the children." They apparently confounded the name of the mother with the daughter's.

⁸² Their marriage date in *FamilySearch* is correctly given as October 4, 1866, but the location is incorrectly given as Switzerland. *Ancestry.com* shows just the year 1866 in Midway.

⁸³ As written by Josie Muhlestein *FamilySearch* Memories KWZ7-HMT.

⁸⁴ The men were Martin Bushman, a Pennsylvania of German descent, and John Conrad Naegle and George Zimmerman, immigrants from Baden-Württemberg in wine country that is now Germany. All three families were connected by marriage, lived near each other in the old fort, and had farm lands to the west. Their wives had nursed Louisa's brother Henry back to health after the Wintchs' crossing in 1862. Elizabeth Degen Bushman was a midwife and herbalist, born in Switzerland but migrated in 1816 to Pennsylvania.

Caspar's daughter Louisa inherited \$150 and a cow. John Ulrich got a team and a cow. Margaretha inherited Caspar's two acre farm, really more of a garden, and the house in Lehi.

I don't know how long Elizabeth Smith lived with Margaretha. At some point she moved in with her son-in-law John Ulrich Wintch in Midway, probably when her daughter Frances died on November 4, 1867, a week after delivering their daughter Frances Elizabeth Wintch. Unfortunately, the baby also died on May 30, 1868, at the age of seven months.⁸⁵

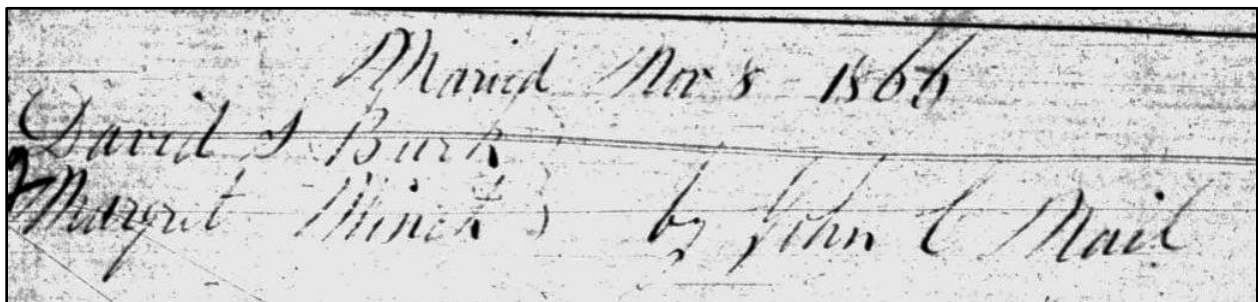


Louisa Wintch Liechti

Lilly and Rosie, two of Margaretha's daughters, wrote,

While living in Lehi, mother (Margaretha) heard Brigham Young speak to the Saints, encouraging them to pay back their immigration fees, and promising that if they would do so they would never apostatize from the Church. She made up her mind to pay back that which she owed, though it was very hard then for her to support her family. She worked very hard and sacrificed greatly to accomplish this.⁸⁶

Slightly over two months after Caspar's death, Margaretha married a 33 year old man named David S. Burk on November 8, 1866.⁸⁷ Her baby Emma was just four weeks old, and Margaretha was 27.



⁸⁵ Sometime before 1877 Elizabeth Smith moved from Midway to Fillmore to live with her son Joseph and his family.

⁸⁶ Anderson and Frandsen.

⁸⁷ Bryner family histories reveal little helpful information about Burk and incorrectly refer to him variously as Willam Burk, William Bjork, and David (William) Bjork (Burk). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Record of Members (Worldwide), 1836-1970, Affiliate Publication Number CR 375 8/b3599/f0001 gives the name of his wife incorrectly as Margaret Minck on their marriage record, which is in Margaretha's sources in *FamilySearch*. However, Minck is a misreading of Wintch on the part of the extractor. The original record is available at Church History Library, CR 375 8, Lehi, p. 181/400.

David Burk was a recent convert to Mormonism, who had been baptized⁸⁸ in the Lehi Ward just two weeks before Caspar's death. The marriage was performed by John C. Naegle,⁸⁹ who would later play a major role in Margaretha's life. Interestingly, Naegle and Caspar's son John Ulrich Wintch were both members of Burk's unit in the Lehi militia.⁹⁰

David S. Burk was born in Screven, Georgia on October 24, 1834. When he was about six years old, his family moved to southern Alabama as pioneers in newly organized Coffee County, leaving many relatives behind in Georgia, including a cousin with exactly the same name. The Burks claimed 530 acres of grassland under vast longleaf pine forests and began raising livestock. When the family appeared in the 1850 census, David's father Abram Burk was 42 and his mother Jane was 43. They had seven children in their household at that time, since two older sisters had married and moved out. David was 16, the second son. His older brother Hardy was 18, and there were four younger sisters and a four year old brother. Their father owned nine slaves. The farm was considerably larger than those of his neighbors, with 41 cattle, 31 sheep, and 50 hogs.

At that time education was informal in Alabama, usually given in log cabins, where parents paid a small fee to a traveling teacher. David probably learned to read and write but could not have gotten more than a few winters' schooling. There were very few developed roads. Travel was difficult and often dictated by the flooding of the nearby Pea River.

Abram Burk died in August 1853 when David was 19. His brother Hardy was 21 and probably took over his father's farm, for by the time of the Alabama State census of 1855, David's name appeared as the owner of a smaller property adjacent to his mother.⁹¹

A year after the Civil War broke out, he and his younger brother Jim joined the 33rd Alabama Infantry Regiment in April 1862, which drew recruits from Coffee and four adjoining counties. The 33rd served with the Army of Tennessee, enduring horrific casualties at battles like Perryville and Franklin, fighting through the Atlanta Campaign and others until the final surrender in North Carolina in 1865. Only 60-80 men in the 33rd Regiment survived the war. David's name is not found among the survivors, so he was either sent home wounded or deserted.⁹²

⁸⁸ Burk was baptized July 15, 1866, by E. H. Davis. (Lehi Ward record, Church History Library CR 375 8, p. 99/400.)

⁸⁹ The name in the record is John Nail, a spelling sometimes used for John Naegle.

⁹⁰ A militia muster roll dated October 3, 1866 listed John Ulrich Wintch, age 23, and John Naegle among the 41 militia members from Lehi. The lieutenant over his unit was David C. Burk.

⁹¹ In his household were two adult males, one adult female, and six children under the age of 21. Since he was only 21 years old, he must have had an older couple with a family living with him.

⁹² The Civil War ended at Appomattox on April 9, 1865, when General Robert E. Lee surrendered to U. S. Grant.

But how did a non-Mormon Civil War veteran end up in Utah of all places?

Coffee County was a cattle and hog-raising region called the "Wiregrass," and it was common for young men to be hired as "drovers," engaged in the lucrative trade of driving livestock across the plains to supply the hungry mining camps of California and the growing settlements in the West. Utah was a frequent stopping point for these drives to winter the cattle or trade for fresh horses. It appears that David stopped in Utah on his way to or back from California and ended up settling in Lehi.

By that time, both of his older married sisters had moved to Arkansas. The rest of the siblings married and had families but never left Alabama.

David could have been in Utah as early as 1863, but the first recorded evidence of his presence there is his 1866 militia record and his baptism on July 15, 1866, which may have a requirement for him to join the militia. He did not get baptized in order to marry Margaretha, as her husband Caspar Wintch was still with her at the time.

As a war veteran and an experienced horseman or cattleman, Burk would have been an asset to the militia in the Black Hawk War, which is probably why he was appointed a 4th Lieutenant⁹³ in the militia. By then he was 32 years old and in charge of a unit of foot soldiers under his superior officer, Henry E. Norton. Among the eight men under David were John Ulrich Wintch, his future wife's stepson, and John C. Naegle, the man who baptized him. Lower officers in the territorial militia were generally elected by the troops, which suggests that even before his baptism, David was liked and respected. In between bouts of militia service, it is likely that he worked as a farm hand for one of the Church members in Lehi, perhaps for John Naegle or even for Caspar Wintch.

When Margaretha and David Burk had been married for about eight months, Margaretha's 15 month old child Mary was blessed on July 15, 1867 by Canute Peterson⁹⁴ along with 14 other children that day.

⁹³ While the term "4th Lieutenant" is not a standard rank in the modern U.S. Army, it was a recognized lower-level position in the early Utah Territorial Militia. In 19th-century military terms, a 4th Lieutenant was essentially a squad leader. David would have been responsible to ensure that the men in his squad were armed, had functional horses, and were ready to assemble at a moment's notice.

⁹⁴ Peterson was a Norwegian convert, 43 years old at the time and one of the first settlers at Dry Creek, later called Lehi, where he helped to survey the townsite in 1850 and brought his family in 1851. He was called to Norway on a four year mission, bringing home a company of converts in 1857, and returned in 1871 for a second mission there. He had three wives. Canute moved to Ephraim in 1867, having been called to be the bishop. He later became president of the South Sanpete Stake, was the founder of Snow College, oversaw the construction of the Manti Temple, and finished his life as a stake patriarch. *FamilySearch* Memories, KWJC-WRV.

Margaretha's second daughter Emma, Caspar's child, was blessed in Lehi at the age of 12 months early in September 1867⁹⁵ by Charles Barnes,⁹⁶ but Emma died a few days later on September 11th.

By then Margaretha was two months into a pregnancy with David Burk's baby, who was born April 5, 1868. She was blessed on the following day in the Lehi Ward by William L. Hutchins and received the name of Susannah Burk, but she died two weeks later.⁹⁷ By that time, David Burk had disappeared, never to return.

One family history⁹⁸ states, "...she married David Bjork (sic) in Lehi and had a little daughter Susannah who died when she was two weeks old, following which David died." However, I have not been able to find any source to indicate when or where he died. It could have been any time after Susannah's conception.⁹⁹ Perhaps he just ran away.

Now Margaretha was twice widowed at age 28 and had lost two children. Her living daughter Mary was three, and Henry K was eight. She was again on her own, since Elizabeth Smith had moved to Midway.

This was an eventful time in Utah. The Black Hawk War was in full swing, especially in Sanpete and Millard Counties. In May it became clear that 1868 would be another grasshopper year. That month Brigham Young signed a contract for the grading on 90 miles of the Transcontinental Railroad, which employed great numbers of men. In August a peace treaty was made with the Indians who had raided in Sanpete and further south.

Brigham Young spent most of that summer and early fall on preaching tours throughout the settlements. He visited New Harmony on Tuesday, September 15, 1868, accompanied by Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, and Joseph F. Smith, where he held a meeting at 1:00 pm. One of Brigham's favorite topics on these trips was the promotion of plural marriage.

⁹⁵ The exact date is illegible on the document.

⁹⁶ Charles Barnes was a 40 year old English immigrant from England, who was widowed in England and a second time on the ship to America in 1853 before marrying Janet Small in Lehi in 1854, where he had been one of the early settlers. There he took two more wives and farmed.

⁹⁷ *FamilySearch* gives her death date as April 6, 1868, the same day as her blessing.... Geneanet index gives death as April 17. This makes more sense. Both are tragic.

⁹⁸ Anderson and Frandsen.

⁹⁹ Some *Ancestry* and *FamilySearch* pedigrees give David Burk's death date as November 8, 1868, but give no source. If that date is correct, David must have abandoned Margaretha, since she was sealed to Ulrich Bryner on November 1, 1868. The only possible match in *Ancestry* is a David Burks of the same age in Colorado, Texas in March 1870, but he was born in Chickasaw Nation according to the 1860 census.

My guess is that he counseled Ulrich Bryner and the other men in attendance that day to take plural wives.¹⁰⁰

Sometime in September or October 1868 a letter came to Margaretha, which must have been an unusual event for her. It was a proposal of marriage from Hans Ulrich Bryner, the nephew of her deceased husband, Caspar Wintch. He had heard of her husband's death.

By then there was weekly mail service in Utah using adolescent post riders and stage coach drivers. The letter of proposal would likely have traveled through Ceder City, Beaver, Fillmore, Nephi, and Provo before reaching Lehi, a 235 mile trip of about five to seven days, unless it happened to be carried directly by Brigham's travel entourage.

Ulrich Bryner was 41 years old and already had a wife and five children aged from three to 12 years old. They had been living in New Harmony, a pioneer town located 250 miles south of Lehi, for almost six years. And he was totally blind.

Receiving the letter, Margaretha must have had doubts. Could a blind man support her and her children? Was she willing to become a second plural wife? How difficult would it be to take care of both a disabled son and a disabled husband?

Two of their future daughters¹⁰¹ wrote,

Mother, knowing that he was blind and already had a family, asked the advice of the authorities of the Church. They knew of her hardships and advised her to accept this offer in order to provide a home for her and her children and a good husband to rely on, and she accepted.

She could have known Ulrich Bryner only by reputation. When he immigrated to Salt Lake City on November 30, 1856, Margaretha was still a 17 year old girl working in the silk factory in Effretikon. When she and her baby moved in with the Wintsch family in 1861, Caspar's sister Verena, and her son Ulrich Bryner were already living in Plain City, Utah, and by the end of that year, they were living out of their wagon in St. George. But she must have known who he was. Not only was he the nephew of her former husband, but she must also have heard of the legendary blind man, who had predicted the coming of the missionaries to Switzerland through a dream that he had as a young man.

The family stories seem to take for granted the magnitude of the task for a blind man to make the 350 mile round trip from New Harmony to the Endowment House and back

¹⁰⁰ Another of my great grandfathers, James Oakey, was told two years later by Brigham Young at a conference in the Paris, Idaho bowery, that a man with one wife who did not practice polygamy, would lose the wife he already had in the next life. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, Volume 16, discourse 22, 160-171.

¹⁰¹ Anderson and Frandsen.

without assistance, not to mention helping Margaretha to collect her belongings and transport her and her children, but I suspect that he had assistance. Most likely he was accompanied by his first wife Maria's brother Henry Mathys, their next door neighbor, who had moved to New Harmony around five years earlier with his young family. Perhaps he even brought his first wife Maria along, as suggested in the photograph below.

Margaretha and Ulrich were married in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City on November 1, 1868, and Margaretha received her endowment.¹⁰²

¹⁰² According to Edith Ann Pace Prince *FamilySearch* memories KVVH-DKM, Henry K was sealed to them at that time. That is not true. He was sealed to them a decade later on February 6, 1878 in the St. George temple along with her children Emma and Mary Wintch and Susannah Burk. Margaretha was sealed posthumously to David S. Burk on October 10, 1995, and to Caspar Wintch on September 2, 1994. She was even sealed to her brother, Hans Rudolph Kuhn in 2025!

History of Ulrich Bryner

Ulrich was born in Illnau, Zürich, Switzerland on April 22, 1827, and he was christened there a week later in the very same parish church that the Margaretha Kuhn's family attended, so their parents undoubtedly knew each other. In fact, Ulrich's mother Verena Wintsch grew up in Kindhausen, just a mile from the Kuhn's house. She was one year younger than her brother Caspar Wintsch.

Ulrich was the oldest of Verena's living children.¹⁰³ According to town records, the Bryners moved 12 miles to Wiedikon on April 29, 1827, the same day that Ulrich was christened in Illnau. Wiedikon was a village just across the river west of Zürich. There were 58 houses in three rows, most on either side of a "dorfbach" (village brook). The town was beginning to grow rapidly due to the influx of workers stimulated by the industrial revolution.

When Ulrich was ten years old, his father Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr. bought a large farm, and Ulrich learned to do farming chores such as plowing, mowing and pruning. His father was a shoemaker, and his mother weaved matching shoestrings. According to one of his granddaughters,

Young Ulrich...was the errand boy. He brought the orders and delivered the shoes. He says his father took out his watch and timed him in all his errands. And he scolded him if he didn't return from his errands promptly. He had to get back in time to go to school again, so his parents taught him to be prompt, industrious, and thrifty.¹⁰⁴

The Bryners were said to have been very economical and earned a good income. They acquired a farmhouse in 1837 at the upper Zweierstrasse. It was a large house near the center of town.

When Ulrich Jr. was nearly 16 years old he got sick, and so did his closest friend, who died. During Ulrich's illness he had a dream¹⁰⁵ in which a man with a gray beard and peculiar eyes led him in darkness half way around the world to a city of gold behind a wall with three gates that admitted only the righteous and holy to the city. He was told that he could go there too if he was faithful and true.

¹⁰³ Her first child died on his first day of life.

¹⁰⁴ *FamilySearch* Memories, Hans Ulrich Bryner, Jr., Lura Redd, K2W3-49H. I recommend Lura Redd's 20 page biography of Ulrich for people who want even more detail. She is especially good concerning the crossing of the plains.

¹⁰⁵ On his 75th birthday, Ulrich wrote a long autobiographical poem in which he recalled his dream. It can be read at *FamilySearch* Memories, K2W3-49H.

On April 29, 1851, when he was 24 years old, Ulrich married Anna Maria Dorothea Mathys,¹⁰⁶ a 22 year old neighbor who lived across the street from him.

While working for a butcher in the winter of 1853, Ulrich lost his eye as he was cutting up a hog that was hanging from a gambrel. The foot slipped off and poked his eye out of the socket while the carcass knocked him off his feet. His ten year old brother Casper saw the accident and led him to the doctor, who hospitalized Ulrich for six weeks. Later his parents took him to a specialist in Germany, but the vision could not be restored. While he was in the hospital, he lost the vision in his good eye, rendering him totally blind.¹⁰⁷

Four months after his injury, Ulrich had another dream in which he again saw the man who had led him halfway around the world a decade earlier. This time the man had an open book in his hand, and in it he crossed out Ulrich's sins. Ulrich was shown the road to Zion, which went across the sea with a large company of people and across the great prairies into the mountains to reach the City of Zion.

About a year after Ulrich lost his sight, the missionary George Mayer baptized five souls in Weiningen, a town about five miles northwest of Bryners. On February 27, 1854, six members of the Mathys and Bryner families heard George Mayer preach near Zürich. Ulrich's father, mother, mother-in-law and sisters, six in all, went to hear him. His mother-in-law went up close to him and examined the missionary's peculiar eyes. He was very cross eyed and wore glasses with extremely thick lenses, which reminded her of the man that Ulrich had described in his dream. They invited the missionary to come to their home.

Elder Mayer wrote in his journal,¹⁰⁸

On Monday I was called to visit a family in Wiedikon, (having heard) that one of his sons was blind for better than a year. His parents heard of me and came to see me, and they said that I filled the description that he gave of me. I went to see him and conversed with him, and he said that he believed that what I taught him was true. I laid my hands on him and anointed his eyes with oil and prayed for him and told him that he should see in the name of Jesus Christ. I left him in the hands of God. The family appeared to rejoice in the things I brought them and desired that I should come on Thursday to see them again. I went on Thursday and found them in good spirits and the blind man in strong faith that his eyes were getting better. I administered to him again and promised him that he should come to his seeing

¹⁰⁶ From this point I will refer to her simply as Maria.

¹⁰⁷This unusual condition is called sympathetic ophthalmia, which today happens in about one in 500 serious eye injuries. The onset can vary from six days to a year, averaging about six months after the injury. In those days there were no effective treatments for it.

¹⁰⁸ *FamilySearch* Memories KVV9-SD6, A Diary of George Mayer Part 2, p. 20/43.

before long. He said that he believed that the Gospel I taught was the right Gospel and said he would be baptized soon... In the morning, he made me a present of four francs.

Ulrich was baptized by Elder Mayer on March 19, 1854, along with ten others including his wife Maria and his sister Barbara, and Mayer blessed Ulrich's two children--two year old Mary Magdalene and seven months old Henry Gottlieb. By April 22, 12 members of Ulrich's family and Maria's Mathys families were baptized including Ulrich's father Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr. and his mother Verena Wintsch Bryner.

The missionaries eventually made the Bryner home their headquarters while in Zürich. Evidently the improvement of Ulrich's eyes did not last long, but he didn't give up on his dream of the shining city of Zion.

The missionaries organized a branch in May and continued baptizing. In June, Ulrich's younger brother Casper was baptized. Elder Mayer wrote: "On Sunday the 2nd of July I preached in Wiedikon at Brother Bryner's to a full house of 40 or more."



Bryner House in Wiedikon

In September, Ulrich and his father were ordained teachers. Elder Mayer preached often at the Bryner house, and on November 18 he introduced the doctrine of polygamy. "I...found that it was necessary to explain the doctrine of plurality as several were in darkness concerning the doctrine." That led to a summons from the city officials in Zürich, and Mayer was forced to leave to the Canton of Thurgau, about 35 miles away near Lake Konstanz. There Ulrich Bryner Sr. showed up and helped to defend him to the city officials, but Mayer was finished in Zürich. He was sent under pressure to Baden, where he met up with Casper and Barbara Bryner, John Mathys and 12 others, and he escorted them to Liverpool, and from there to Utah, the first Swiss immigrants to Zion. They arrived in September 1855.

In the winter of 1856, Hans Ulrich Sr. put a thousand Books of Mormon in print, of which five hundred were stacked in Ulrich's bedroom, leaving him hardly enough room to get into his bed. He and his family of four were living in his father's house.

On March 23, 1856, Ulrich's family was among those who set sail from Liverpool in the ship named the "Enoch Train" minus their two year old boy Gottfried, who was left with his grandparents to come the following year, considered too young to safely make the trip, which proved to have been a good decision. They arrived at Boston after 42 days at sea, where they transferred to trains and traveled by way of New York City to Florence, Nebraska, the outfitting station for the Saints going west. After three months waiting for transportation to be organized, they ended up in the Hunt Wagon company of 240 people, 50 wagons, 297 oxen, and beef cattle and cows that supported the infamous Martin and Willie handcart companies.¹⁰⁹

The history of the Martin and Willey handcart pioneers is well documented, so I will not elaborate on that here, but suffice it to say that the trip was not easy for the accompanying wagons either, especially for a blind man. Ulrich's feet froze, and the wagon tipped over and ran over Ulrich's little girl, Maria Magdalena age five, who was hurt badly—they thought she was dead when they picked her up.¹¹⁰ They arrived in Salt Lake City on November 30, 1856 after a journey of nearly five months and were met by Ulrich's siblings Casper and Barbara and taken to Lehi, Utah the next day.



"Last Wagon," depicting Ulrich Bryner painted by Lynn Fausett, grandson of Ulrich and Maria.

Lehi was one of the first six Mormon settlements in Utah, established four years before the Bryners arrived. A seven-mile irrigation canal had been dug with wooden spades to connect Lehi with the Jordan River, and a bridge was constructed. It had a fort that housed 60 cabins, but as Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Wilford Woodruff passed through the city on May 29, 1854 just six months after its completion, they declared the need for a larger fort and pushed the locals to think bigger. The Saints obediently began the next day to create a second fort with lookout towers and 12-foot high walls that enclosed 16 blocks, at the time the best in the territory.

¹⁰⁹ Hans Ulrich Bryner, Jr., The Hunt Wagon Company, *FamilySearch* Memories KWW9-SD6.

¹¹⁰ Alois history K2W3-49H.

The new fort was completed two years before the first members of the Bryner family arrived in Lehi. They were the first Swiss immigrants to settle there, although a German-speaking man named John Conrad Naegle¹¹¹ preceded them. He had immigrated as a child from Bavaria, joined the Church in 1844, marched with the Mormon Battalion, and then struck gold at Sutter's Mill. He was now a prominent, wealthy man, who owned a large ranch near Saratoga Springs, although he did not live on it until about a year before Ulrich and Maria's arrival. Naegle bred fine horses and operated the overland mail station and a hotel in Lehi. He transported a grist mill and carding machine from the East and helped set up pioneer mills in American Fork Canyon. He was a polygamist, who eventually married seven wives. One of his wives was the Ulrich's sister, Verena Bryner, whom he married in 1858.

When Ulrich arrived, the population of Lehi was probably well under the 800 who appeared four years later in the 1860 census.

When Ulrich and his family left Switzerland, they probably expected that Zion would be the City of Gold that he experienced in his visions, but his participation in the infamous Martin-Willey handcart fiasco was just the beginning of two years of extremely difficult Latter-day Saint history.

When they arrived, the so-called Reformation was in its second month. Nearly all faithful families asked to be rebaptized, including the entire territorial legislature in December, and a new baptismal font was dedicated on the east side of the Endowment House for the sole purpose of rebaptism. Throughout the winter of 1857, special church meetings were held for the purpose of retrenchment. There were many excommunications of people who failed to conform to church policies.

On March 13, 1857 Ulrich and Maria received their endowments and were sealed in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City.

Tensions between Mormons and non-Mormons increased in May 1857 when it was learned that Parley P. Pratt had been murdered in Arkansas by Hector McLean, the estranged husband of one of Pratt's plural wives. Many Mormons viewed the death as a martyrdom. Some blamed the death on the people of Arkansas, which may have played a role in the massacre at Mountain Meadows a few months later. The Pratt murder was the culmination of a domestic dispute that became a national sensation, framed around issues of polygamy, domestic abuse, and frontier justice.

Ulrich's family had been in Lehi for about nine months when at the Pioneer Day celebration in Big Cottonwood Canyon, Porter Rockwell brought Brigham Young the disturbing news

¹¹¹ The German spelling of his name was Johannes Conrad Nägle. In the U.S., he sometimes spelled his surname as Naile or Nail, and in the 1860 census as Nale.

that the U.S. Army was mobilizing at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas against the Mormons. By August, Brigham had activated the Nauvoo Legion, which included all able-bodied men in the territory between 15 and 60 years old and sent a reconnaissance unit under militia Colonel Robert T. Burton to spy on the oncoming regiments and protect Latter-day Saint immigrants traveling the Mormon Trail.

The fear and hysteria of these events fueled the Mountain Meadows Massacre, a mass killing of approximately 120 California-bound immigrants, known as the Baker-Fancher party, on September 11, 1857, in southern Utah.

It was just one day after the massacre that Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr. arrived in Salt Lake City with Ulrich's mother, his sister Verena and his three year old son Henry,¹¹² who had been left behind the year before, too young to make the trip. They joined the rest of the family in Lehi during the preparations for the advance of Johnston's army.

That September a call was issued to the Lehi district for a company of cavalry to fortify Echo Canyon and patrol the trails to keep an eye on the approaching U.S. Army. Men from all settlements north of Utah Lake were recruited, including at least 25 men from Lehi.

Ulrich Bryner Jr. was exempted, of course, due to his blindness, but his younger brother Casper Bryner served in the Lehi militia that year.¹¹³ His brother-in-law John Mathys was 25, so it is likely that he also took part. Other men in Lehi who served in the militia included John C. Nagle, who had also served in the Mormon Battalion. Brigham Young ordered the stakes and wards to raise an army of 1,000 men.

On December 2, 1857, Ulrich and Maria's fourth child, Paulina Dorothea Ann Bryner, was born in Lehi.



Henry G. Bryner

¹¹² Formerly Heinrich.

¹¹³ *FamilySearch* Memories, Casper Bryner (1834-1914), Susanna Staheli (1852-1925) KWJJ-ZKP. While General Johnston was still in winter camp, planning his invasion of the valley, Casper Bryner was called by Brigham Young to join a scouting party of 20 men sent in January to the tiny settlement of Heberville in the Dixie Country under the supervision of Joseph Horne to evaluate its potential for raising cotton. When the company was beset by malaria, one of the men died, and Casper was appointed to return alone with the corpse to Salt Lake City, a three week trip. The rest of the men planted cotton in Heberville and returned in November with 575 lbs.

On March 24, leaders of the Salt Lake and nearby wards were instructed to vacate the Salt Lake Valley for destinations in Utah, Juab, Millard, and Iron Counties in anticipation of the invasion of Johnston's Army. During April and May, all of them passed through Lehi, and many camped there until the crisis was over.

The historian Hamilton Gardner wrote,

Day after day the citizens of Lehi saw them pass through their borders, a continuous stream along the State Road, from daylight until dark. A striking picture was this exodus, one long to be remembered—covered wagons laden with all manner of household goods; hand carts; men and women mounted on horses and mules; far more of them walking, often barefoot; cattle, sheep, and pigs, singly and in herds; all manner of freak conveyances; no end of confusion and not a little suffering and sorrow. Added to all the rest was the almost incessant rain which fell during that spring.

Then on June 26th, General Johnston and around 5,000 men marched through Salt Lake City and West Jordan to Cedar Valley and camped in sight of Lehi, which was only 14 miles away.

With the crisis ended, Brigham Young announced on June 30th that he was going back home with his family, and the Saints were at liberty to follow, but many families were gone for 2-3 months.

The army became belligerent with the people in Lehi, their closest neighbor. Wherever the troopers passed through the town, damage was done to property, people or livestock, and officers flamboyantly broke town ordinances just to spite the Mormons. A \$5,000 road and sawmill in West Canyon was declared a military reserve, and citizens were barred from using their equipment or extracting lumber. But in the long run the army's presence was a great boon, since Lehi was the closest town and directly on the supply route to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, which ran up Provo Canyon through Heber City. And the camp provided employment and bought farm products from the people in Lehi.

The Bryner and Mathys families remained in Lehi until May 1860, when they were called to settle Plain City in Ogden, where Elizabeth Ann was born to Maria. Ulrich and his brother Casper operated farms there.

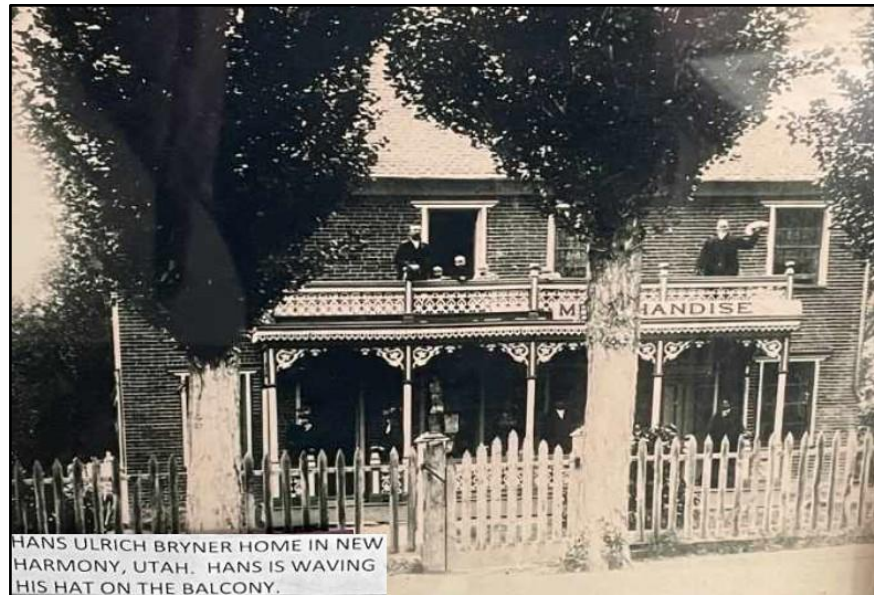
Then in the fall of 1861, they were sent to settle St. George, as discussed in the chapter on Magdalena Wintch. There Hans Ulrich Bryner Sr. and Magdalena Wintch died within a few days of each other.

Ulrich's mother Verena lived with his sister Barbara and her husband John Mathys in St. George, but Ulrich soon moved his family 40 miles northeast to New Harmony,¹¹⁴ possibly at the request of the apostle Erastus Snow, who supervised the southern congregations.

Ulrich's family does not appear at all in the St. George ward records, which suggests that they moved out of St. George soon after their arrival in Dixie, but it is not clear exactly how soon. His birth as given in the New Harmony ward record was February 5, 1863, but the location was not given. Albert later wrote on a passport application that he was born in St. George, so the family probably moved later that year or early the next year, since Albert was blessed at New Harmony on March 16, 1864.¹¹⁵ Ulrich's oldest daughter Maria, the only child of his that was born before he lost his sight, died in New Harmony on September 1, 1863 at the age of 12.¹¹⁶ Living close by in New Harmony were Ulrich's brother-in-law, Henry Mathys, and his wife Elizabeth, whose first child was born there on December 5, 1863.

Initially, the Bryners settled in a temporary home along Ash Creek, and then later settled in the present townsite after it was surveyed by Israel Evans. They eventually had an impressive house there.

They planted cotton, carded it, dyed it with roots and herbs, and Maria spun it into thread



¹¹⁴ The original town of Harmony had been built around "Fort Harmony" which was constructed in 1852 along Ash Creek. The fort was flooded out in the winter storm of 1862 that also flooded out the Dixie immigrants when they arrived, but on January 18, 1862, all of the families were moved from the fort to New Harmony except for Caroline, Lee's wife. The Harmony Saints and the Swiss families who had joined them moved to two nearby areas. One was New Harmony on the west and the other was Kanarrah. There is a good 11 page history of New Harmony in Maria's memories KVV9-SD6.

¹¹⁵ Elizabeth Ann Bryner wrote that the family lived in St. George until she was six years old. This has to be an error, since she turned six on May 30, 1866.

¹¹⁶ In his poem at age 75 he wrote "When the child was twelve years old she was taken away from me and buried in Harmony, The only one in twenty I ever did see." He gave the date of her death as "first of September, ninety-three." *FamilySearch* gives her death as April 10, 1863 in New Harmony without a primary source. Ulrich obviously got the year wrong, but I think the month and day provided by Ulrich are correct, although I could not find Maria in the Harmony Ward record.

on a spinning wheel which Ulrich's father had built for them. Brigham Young pronounced it the best homemade thread he had ever seen. In his poem written when he was 75 years old, Ulrich told of Brigham Young's visit to their house in New Harmony. I quote from part of the poem:

I sat on my porch and saw Brigham come.
 He said, "How do you do, Brother Bryner:
 I would like to take with you my dinner."
 I called for my son to unhitch his team.
 I went to the garden and told my wife to come in.
 "Brigham is here, he wants to take dinner with us."
 She said, "Oh, I don't know what to do,
 I am not ready for that."
 "Brigham said again, "Chicken pie and cake
 I am tired of that every day.
 Roasted potatoes and butter milk will suit me best."
 I said," Well, come in and get it ready,
 We have plenty of that."
 That was a great testimony to me,
 How the Priesthood followed from Jesus to him.

Maria wove material for their clothing and sewed everything by hand. They colored the fabric with dye from roots. Maria went with Ulrich into the cotton field to guide him as he worked. Ulrich wove baskets. He could recognize his friends by their voice, even though he might not have talked with them for years.¹¹⁷

By the close of 1865, there were about 265 people living in New Harmony. One of the families was Henry Mathys (Johann Heinrich Mathys), Maria's younger brother. He and his Swiss wife Elizabeth had a young family there.¹¹⁸

Maria's last daughter, Mary Verena Bryner was born in New Harmony on March 3, 1866.

On August 20, 1867, the branch in Harmony was reorganized into a ward.

On September 15, 1868, Brigham Young made the visit to Harmony that motivated Ulrich to consider taking a second wife.

After their wedding, Margaretha sold her home and 10 acres of ground and left Lehi with her two children, Henry K and Mary Wintch. Ulrich Bryner took them to the two story house in

¹¹⁷ Lori Brockbank biography of Ulrich in his memories. K2W3-49H)

¹¹⁸ From Historic Context of Main Canyon Ditch, *FamilySearch* Memories, Maria Mathys Bryner KWW9-SD6.

New Harmony,¹¹⁹ that he built for his first wife Maria, and they celebrated Thanksgiving and Christmas together.

In its year-end reports, the Harmony ward record showed that Ulrich had donated \$10 to the Perpetual Immigration Fund.

They spent the next two months preparing to move Margaretha's family the difficult 23 miles to Toquerville. The Bryners had been frequent visitors because Ulrich's sister Verena lived there. Maria Bryner's granddaughter Lura Redd wrote,

Members of grandmother's family used to go to Toquerville and dry such fruits as figs, grapes, peaches and apricots before they had such varieties that would grow in New Harmony. Toquerville was about fifteen hundred feet below New Harmony and was considered semitropical. But they couldn't grow apples there as good as the apples that grew in New Harmony.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ In all the family stories, she went directly to Toquerville, but that happened later.

¹²⁰ Lura Redd, *FamilySearch* Memories, KWJV-W4C.

Toquerville, Utah

Before white settlement, a Paiute tribe occupied the upper part of the Virgin River on Ash Creek now called Toquerville. They were described in 1776 by Father Escalante when he explored the area. He wrote on October 15th,

Here we found a good basket full of green corn with corn husks heaped on them. Near it on the flat ground and south of the river were three small fields of corn with well-planned ditches for irrigation. The little heaps of corn already gathered this year were still intact, for which we were extremely happy because of the hope it gave us...for the journey ahead.¹²¹

Jedediah Smith, the trapper, is said to have descended Ash Creek to the site of present-day Toquerville in 1826.

In December 1849, Parley P. Pratt visited Ash Creek with 50 men, but he was not impressed. He wrote, "The country southward for 80 miles showing no signs of water or fertility...a wide expanse of chaotic matter..."¹²² John D. Lee led a party of 12 men from Parowan on January 27, 1852. They gave Ash Creek its name and followed it to the Virgin River. The resident Indians welcomed them.

The name Toquerville was given to the settlement after the name of Chief Toquer. His name was derived from an Indian word meaning black after the abundance of black rock on the hill east of town and in the fields.

In the spring of 1853, Toquerville was identified by Brigham Young as a potential site for colonization, and the next year Mormon missionaries led by Rufus C. Allen came from Fort Harmony to try to convert some of the Indians, but no white people moved there until 1857.

It was after the Mountain Meadows Massacre on September 11, 1857, that an influx of settlers began in Toquerville. That fall, after a hail storm destroyed crops in Cedar City, several families moved there, and several families including Joshua Willis and John Steele moved from Harmony and built cabins near Toquer's village along Ash Creek. They explored as far as the Zion Narrows in the upper Virgin River Basin and decided to establish a settlement. That is when the wagon road from Harmony was developed.

The first pioneer homes were dugouts along the stream bank and wagon boxes, which were gradually replaced by log houses and better homes. After Brigham Young recalled people

¹²¹ A History of Toquerville, Wesley P. Larsen, Manuscript in the Church History Library.

¹²² Report of the Southern Exploring Expedition, February 9, 1850 (Original in the LDS Church Historian's office.)

from the colonies during the Utah War, six families who had left San Bernardino, California¹²³ settled in Toquerville in 1858 among a small group of Paiute Indians who had cultivated a piece of ground near the creek.

That year Isaac C. Haight, together with John Higbee, Philip Klingensmith and Samuel Pollock from Cedar City accepted a long-standing invitation from Chief Toquer to visit Toquerville, which paved the way for a later move. The latter three had been participants in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, and they were probably looking for a way to make themselves harder to find. Cedar City's population dropped from 880 people in September 1857 to 375 by March 1859¹²⁴ about three months before Judge John Cradlebaugh issued his first batch of arrest warrants for the Mountain Meadows perpetrators.¹²⁵

One early settler was Joshua Thomas Willis, a former sheriff in Provo, who had lived in Cedar City since the fall of 1853. Another was John Henry Willis, Joshua's 23 year old nephew.¹²⁶

As Stake President, Isaac Haight appointed Joshua Willis to be Toquerville's first Presiding Elder in 1859. Haight moved his third wife Eliza Ann Price and five children to Toquerville from Cedar City before he went into hiding in Colorado. The families living there prospered in the favorable climate. The settlers planted a number of grape cuttings which gave early evidence of success. In May 1861 John Nebeker moved to Toquerville and built a cotton gin, the first in Utah.

On November 18, 1861, the Toquerville Branch was organized into a ward which included the villages of Virgin and Duncan's Retreat, and Joshua Willis was promoted to bishop. One month later, Orson Pratt arrived with the 50 Saints who had split off from the Dixie expedition that took the Bryners and Mathys families to St. George.

¹²³ The Mormon colony at San Bernardino was called back to Utah during the Johnston's Army scare that year.

¹²⁴ Charles Hopkins, A biography, Marjorie Hopkins Bennion, p. 124.

¹²⁵ While Lee, Haight, and Higbee were the primary targets, Judge Cradlebaugh's list of "leading men" in Southern Utah included several others who were either directly indicted later or noted in his personal reports. Beyond the famous three, John D. Lee, Isaac C. Haight, and John M. Higbee, the men targeted by his 1859 investigation included eight other men, but none except bishop Haight fled to Toquerville. John D. Lee moved his 15th wife Mary to Toquerville.

¹²⁶ John Henry Willis who was associated with the massacre according to Massacre at Mountain Meadows by Ronald W. Walker et al <https://mountainmeadowsmassacre.com/massacre/appendices/appendix-c-the-militiamen>, a list gathered from eye witness accounts, arrest warrants, indictments, and newspaper articles. It seems likely that Joshua Willis was also involved in some way, since as a former sheriff in Provo, he would likely have served in the militia at Cedar City. (From KWJC-DSN)

Their arrival boosted the population and also the cotton production. The previous year, the acreage in cotton in Toquerville had doubled to about twenty acres, but the wheat acreage was nearly four times more. The next year farmers there raised about 100 acres of cotton.

While cotton was the primary aim, the settlers soon found that fruit and "Chinese sugar cane" (sorghum) were more reliable. Toquerville soon became famous for its figs and pomegranates. A "hat full of figs" became a standard unit of trade, priced at fifty cents.

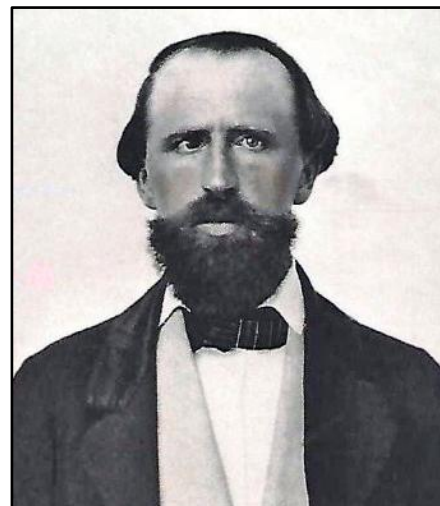
The Toquerville Ward became a part of the St. George Stake in March 1862.

In 1864 Kane County was created by the territorial legislature, and Toquerville was named the county seat.

When the Black Hawk War broke out in Sanpete County on April 9, 1865, Joshua Thomas Willis, with his sons Joshua and Merrill, fought in the Mormon Militia against Black Hawk and his band. The Saints in Toquerville were under the threat of Indian attacks, so a fort was built on a bench about six miles to the south in what is now called Hurricane to alarm citizens of the possible danger of Indians or wild animals. From the fort one could see all of Toquerville.

Brigham Young visited Toquerville along with Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, George Q. Cannon, George A. Smith, and Lorenzo Snow on September 14, 1865. From their report in the *Deseret News*: "At early candle light we met the people in the school house. The first sign of welcome which we received was plates of well ripened grapes on which we feasted to our hearts content."

It was in 1866 that Brigham Young called John Naegle of Lehi to build up the wine industry in Southern Utah, which apparently did not get off to a good enough start in St. George in 1861 when the pioneers were initially sent there. You will recall Naegle from our earlier discussion of Lehi. At the time, Naegle had six wives,¹²⁷ the fourth of which was Ulrich's younger sister Verena. Naegle responded to Brigham's call by sending Verena and wife number five, "Aunt" Regula Benz to Toquerville ahead of him to run the operation. Toquerville was about 23 miles south of New Harmony, and Verena was no doubt in contact with her brother Ulrich Bryner in New Harmony. Verena had delayed her immigration to



John Conrad Naegle

¹²⁷ He married a seventh, Rosalie Ann Zahler in St. George on February 17, 1877, about when he moved to Toquerville full time.

Utah until 1857 in order to aid her elderly father, his wife, and Henry, the three year old son of Ulrich and Maria to cross the plains. She married Naegle shortly after arriving and therefore had not gone with the Bryners and Mathys families to Ogden and to St. George.

On November 1, 1866, Erastus Snow proposed that the road between Toquerville and New Harmony be improved by the people of Dixie, financed by the legislature, and if not granted, permission be given for a toll road. Telegraph communication opened up in Toquerville in 1867, connecting the town to Salt Lake City.¹²⁸

In October 1867, Brigham Young and Amasa Lyman stayed again in Toquerville on their way to conference in St. George. Brigham stayed overnight at Bishop Willis's house, but they had dinner with the Haight family. It was 30 miles from Toquerville to St. George, and it took a day to get there.

Bishop Willis called his wife Sarah Melissa to the position of Relief Society president in 1868. The first Relief Society meeting in Toquerville included 50 members. They braided hats, wove carpets, twisted yarn, and corded cotton.¹²⁹

According to Marie Antoinette Haight,¹³⁰ John D. Lee mentioned in his diary,

Monday, September 7, 1868 we drove to Tokerville (sic) and put up with I. C. Haight, who received us with warmth and kindness. We were thoroughly saturated with water, as we had encountered a desperate thunder storm when within three miles of Tokerville... The water was rolling like torrents down the east mountain into the city filling up many of the cellars with water and mud...however our kind host soon made us comfortable with dry clothes and a warm supper.

The Hights had lived in a small cabin for several years, but by then they were in a spacious eight-room house plastered white inside and outside. Marie Antoinette continued:

Down the main street in Toquerville was a large stream, the drinking water for the people. We had brass buckets and had to keep them polished bright. We filled these buckets and a wooden barrel with water every morning.

There was a terrific hail storm on October 4, 1868. The wind was high and the hail fell so thick and fast and the hailstones were so large that the ground was strewn with dead birds. The hailstones were about the size of a hickory nut. The fall averaged six inches. The grapes and cotton were almost totally destroyed and great damage was done to the cane. Nearly all the window lights facing the northwest

¹²⁸ The first telegraph operator was Joseph Boyer. Life Story MMTN-SH4

¹²⁹ Life Story, *FamilySearch* Memories MMTN-SH4.

¹³⁰ Memoir of Marie Antoinette Haight, p. 24., *FamilySearch* Memories, LHR3-RGK.

were broken, some bark was peeled from the trees. It was the worst storm that ever occurred in the memory of the oldest inhabitants. The damage done was \$12-15 thousand.¹³¹

Toquerville has deep, well-drained soil and temperatures ideal for growing grapes, and John C. Naegle built a big rock house with a wine cellar underneath large enough to accommodate a wagon and a team of horses and allow them to turn around. He installed vats, presses, and other paraphernalia for fermenting wine. Not only was the wine paid as tithing, but large amounts went to Pioche, Silver Reef, and to the settlements north. It became a major industry. By the 1870s, the Naegle winery in Toquerville was producing up to 3,000 gallons of wine annually, known as "Nail's Best," stored in 500-gallon casks and shipped to ZCMI in 40-gallon casks.

According to Toquerville ward records, the day that Henry K and "Margaret" Bryner's church records were received from New Harmony was February 7, 1869,¹³² three months after Ulrich brought Margaretha and her two children to New Harmony. Ulrich's church record remained in New Harmony and never appeared in Toquerville, although he probably spent half of his time there.

Maria's 15 year old son Henry G probably helped Ulrich to drive Margaretha and her children to Toquerville. Maria's oldest daughter, 11 year old Paulina, went along with Margaretha to help with three year old Mary. By this time Margaretha was in her 21st week of pregnancy.



Margaretha Kuhn Bryner

According to Lura Redd,

Much of the road between New Harmony and Toquerville was bad road, especially the part over the Black Ridge, where it went around a steep hilly part. It was all made by pick and shovel and was just wide enough for one wagon except in a few places that were made wider for teams meeting each other to pass. It was quite a long strip, and we always considered it very dangerous. It was called the "dugway" and most people dreaded driving over that part. (Ulrich) with the help of his little boys drove over it many times.

¹³¹ Joshua Willis Life Story, p. 27, MMTN-SH4.

¹³² Evidently Margaretha's daughter Mary had no membership record to transfer because she had not yet been baptized.

Ulrich had bought a house for \$400 close to the large house that John C. Naegle had built for Ulrich's sister Verena, who had been living in Toquerville about three years by then. Verena was eight years older than Margaretha and took her two children under her wing. Verena was expecting a baby about six weeks before Margaretha, and she had a nine year old boy and a seven year old girl, similar in gender and age to Margaretha's children. Verena's sister-wife Regula Benz Naegle, who also lived in the large house, had a girl and boy of about the same ages and was also due in June.



Regula Benz Naegle

Verena and Regula had been in the Lehi Ward with Margaretha for several years before they preceded her to Toquerville when their husband set up his lucrative wine business, so they must have already known each other in Lehi. This was a double bonus for Margaretha, since Regula and her sister Anna, who also lived in Toquerville, were from Weiningen and had been members of the Zürich Branch. Like Margaretha,



Verena Bryner Naegle

they had been silk weavers, but Margaretha had not been acquainted with them in the old country, since the Benz sisters emigrated in 1855 before Margaretha left her home in Bietenholz. Regula and Margaretha were the same age, and Anna, who was three years older, was married to Johann Conrad Kleinmann, a half-brother of John Naegle.

Kleinmann and John Naegle had emigrated together from Bavaria to Indiana in 1833 and joined the Church in Nauvoo in 1844. While Naegle was making his fortune in California, Conrad Kleinmann was first counselor to Bishop David Pettigrew in the Salt Lake City 10th Ward when they were both called to help with the settlement of Lehi, and that is where they married the Benz sisters. Kleinmann had been part of the Dixie mission in 1861 and preceded his half-brother to Toquerville.

The Transcontinental Railway was completed at Promontory Point on May 10th. And just one week after that, Brigham Young broke ground for the Utah Central Railway from Ogden to Provo. Surplus rails, spikes, bolts, cars and other supplies had been supplied by the Union Pacific in lieu of the cash owed to Mormon railroad workers who completed the transcontinental line through Utah.

The three pregnant women delivered their children close together. Verena's son Casper Naegle was born June 17th, and Regula's boy Hyrum was born June 28th. Margaretha's John Ulrich Bryner was born July 31, 1869, generally called "Johnnie."

Although not particularly active in Toquerville, the Blackhawk War was not over, but it was winding down. On September 20, 1869, Indians raided Fairview, stealing 18 horses and hit Kanarraville on the 31st. Soon afterwards Black Hawk surrendered at Fillmore.

The Utah legislature conferred elective franchise to women on February 12, 1870.

Margaretha's life must certainly have been made more complicated by her husband's blindness, although he was surprisingly competent and she got a lot of help from her children.

The first thing or duty that a child in this family was given to do was to lead Father. It began very soon, as soon as a child could understand instructions of any kind, probably at two or three. They could begin by leading him around the home place and down the street to a neighbor's home. Both boys and girls learned this way to guide their father. By the time the boys were eight years old they were responsible enough to guide him when he drove a horse team. He took the reins in his hands, and the boy would put hands on top of grandfather's hands, and they'd do the driving and guiding together.¹³³

With this help, Ulrich made many trips on the rough road between New Harmony and Toquerville. Although still difficult, the road was much better than it had been in 1862, when Ulrich first moved to New Harmony.¹³⁴ By 1869 a more permanent county road was established on the east side of the canyon to bypass the worst of the Black Ridge.

Ulrich was in New Harmony in May 1870, while he worked a day and a half on the town's water system. He had a good reason to be with Maria that month, since she delivered Casper Franklin Bryner five days later, her eighth and final child. Maria turned 42 that summer.

¹³³ Hans Ulrich Bryner, Jr., Lura Redd, *FamilySearch* Memories, KWJV-W4C.

¹³⁴ At that time the Black Ridge Road was also known as Peter Shirts' Road. It crossed a volcanic formation called the Black Ridge, a massive physical barrier between the Great Basin and Utah's Dixie. The most infamous section of the road was a 165-foot gorge, which the earliest pioneers had to cross by dismantling their wagons, winching the pieces down one cliff face, and hauling them up the other. The Apostle George A. Smith described it as "the most desperate piece of road that I have ever traveled." That year the Southern Mission donated \$3,000 to build a better road. This led to the construction of the Duffin Road (named after Isaac Duffin), which was built on the west side of Ash Creek.

Margaretha had been living in Toquerville for about a year and a half when the 1870 census was taken there in mid-July. Ulrich, now 43 years old, was in the household at the time. Henry K was ten, Mary was five, and their baby John Ulrich was one. John C. Naegle, who alternated between Lehi and Toquerville, was also present in adjacent house with his fourth wife Verena and his fifth wife Regula, each with their one-year-old and a school-age child. On the other side of Naegle's house appeared his half-brother, Conrad Kleinmann with his Swiss wife Anna, her one-year-old, and a boy of ten.¹³⁵

The dwelling on the other side of Bryners was owned by Thomas Forsyth, a 57 year old carpenter from Scotland in a house that he valued at \$5,000, the largest, nicest in town. It was two stories faced by the beige/red rocks from Ash Creek, which he had excavated for the sawmill that he ran. He had been part of the Dixie mission in 1861 and also owned a sawmill in Pine Valley. He had moved to Toquerville in 1865. He also raised grapes and made wine.

Isaac Haight was not far away, living with his third wife Eliza in an eight room house finished inside and out with white plaster. Another family in Harmony was headed by Mary Lee, the 34 year old 15th wife of John D. Lee.¹³⁶

At the time of the census there were 48 families in Toquerville, 266 people.

Maria's daughter Elizabeth Ann, who was living in Toquerville to help Margaretha with the children, recalled,

We together cut and dried peaches for six weeks in the fall and spent three weeks in the winery. We prepared to take our dried fruit and wine into Salt Lake City to trade for supplies. We made the trip by teams and wagons in those days, my older brother (this would have been Henry G. He was 17 when Elizabeth Ann was ten) and I being the teamsters. My brother drove four horses and two wagons, and I drove the single team with my father. I was only ten years of age the (first) trip I made and made seven trips in all. It would take us four weeks to make the trip and do the trading. We would leave in November and come back near Christmas time. I lived with my

¹³⁵ Conrad Kleinmann's wives Mary Ann Gerner and Anna Benz had lived in St. George since 1861, and Anna's fifth child had been born there in July 1866 and died at a year of age. Mary Ann Gerner did not move to Toquerville, but returned without permission of her husband to Salt Lake City to visit friends, taking her baby but leaving her two older children, Elizabeth and Moroni, in Toquerville with their father's first wife Elizabeth Maholm Kleinman, who had no children of her own, but was known to all Conrad's children as "Mommy" According to the family story, when Mary Ann asked Conrad for money to return, he told her to find her own way back, so she stayed, and in 1872 she married Joseph Schuler, a non-Mormon German beer merchant. Elizabeth eventually married Isaac Haight, Jr.

¹³⁶ Lee had sent her to live with her parents Elisha and Lucy Groves, who had been part of the Iron Mission in Parowan. Elisha Groves had been a member of the Territorial Legislature and died in Toquerville in 1857.

Aunt (Margaretha), father's second wife in Toquerville... When I was 14 years old I went to work on a co-op ranch in Harmony Canyon.¹³⁷

Henry K, now 13, proved to be a great help to Ulrich when he was in town, as Ulrich's blindness required that someone be with him constantly. Henry K led him around and stayed by his side. He also helped to dry fruit and do chores, and he never complained.¹³⁸

Margaretha's second child with Ulrich, George William Bryner, was born on February 27, 1871. There is no record of a blessing for him in the Toquerville Ward record, so perhaps he was blessed in New Harmony. Since Ulrich needed help when he traveled back and forth, he always took one or more of his children with him.

Although it was not a big issue in Toquerville, concerns about polygamy were increasing in the more populated areas of Utah Territory. Brigham Young was arrested in Salt Lake City by the U.S. Marshal for the second time on October 2, 1871, for "lascivious and unlawful cohabitation."¹³⁹ During the next three days, Daniel H. Wells, George Q. Cannon, and Henry W. Lawrence were also arrested. Brigham went to court on the 9th, paid \$5,000 in bail, and fled to St. George for the winter. He was ordered back from St. George for trial on December 4th and arrived in Salt Lake City on December 26th. He was put on house arrest on January 2nd and then was released April 25 on a writ of habeas corpus by Elias Smith, the probate judge, president of the high priest quorum in Salt Lake City, and cousin to Joseph Smith.

Josephine, Margaretha's first daughter with Ulrich, was born on October 19, 1872, according to the ward record.¹⁴⁰ No blessing was recorded.

I chanced upon the minutes of a Toquerville Relief Society meeting on May 8, 1873.¹⁴¹ The bishop's wife Sarah Willis was still president. They cut out and arranged materials for two quilts.

Bishop Willis also met with us and gave us some good instructions, we concluded to drop the word Female with reference to our "Relief Society" according to suggestion...The officers were sustained.

The number of attendees was not given, but in addition to the presidency there were eight teachers and ten "deacons." Ann Kleinmann was one of the teachers, but none of the

¹³⁷ Sketch of the Life of Elizabeth Ann Bryner Wood, *FamilySearch* Memories KWCC-DSB.

¹³⁸ Edith Ann Pace KWCD-2PZ.

¹³⁹ *Salt Lake Daily Review*, October 16, 1871, p. 2.

¹⁴⁰ Church History Library CR 375 8, Toquerville records Part I, p. 37/358.

¹⁴¹ Dialogue Vol 31: no. 1, Spring 1998, letters to the editor.

Bryner or Naegle women were mentioned. They met again on May 22nd and quilted two quilts and prepared the patchwork of another. They had a picnic and all felt well.¹⁴²

Henry K was baptized and confirmed in 1873¹⁴³ by William Hill.¹⁴⁴ Henry K would have been 13 or 14 years old.¹⁴⁵

James Levi Bryner was born on October 7, 1873, Margaretha's fifth child with Ulrich.

The following year, polygamy issues continued to heat up. In March 1874 Brigham Young was confined for 24 hours in the Utah penitentiary for contempt of court in his alimony case with Ann Eliza Young. There were several polygamy arrests and trials the next month. President Ulysses S. Grant visited Brigham Young at Ogden that October. He had come to confer with his appointees, who were resisting polygamy. When the president, his wife Julia, and his appointed governor of Utah, George W. Emery, traveled with Brigham Young in Grant's private train car from Ogden to Salt Lake City, the route from the station to Grant's hotel was lined with children singing and throwing flowers. Julia Grant, who said she admired the Mormons despite her objection to the practice of polygamy, publicly offered a prayer for the Mormons when she visited the tabernacle.

In 1874 the residents of Toquerville attempted to implement the United Order, but it only lasted a few months.

Although Ulrich could not see, he was very good with his hands. Lura Redd wrote,

He could take a knife into a vineyard and prune the grapevines expertly. He could prune any kind of vines, trees or shrubs. I led him into a willow patch and watched and watched him gather out and select his own willows and weave baskets. There were none better made anywhere. At times he'd take a big load of baskets out into

¹⁴² Unfortunately, the records of the Toquerville Relief Society between June 5, 1874 and April 26, 1877 were lost, which was a big disappointment for me, for I had hoped to learn more about Margaretha from them. The book Toquerville Ward Relief Society, 1868-1988 is available at the Gerald R. Sherratt Library at SUU, but it contains no minutes, only profiles of the female officers. Margaretha is not mentioned in the book.

¹⁴³ According to an entry in the Price Ward record (Church History Library CR 376 8, Price Ward part 1, 160/296.

¹⁴⁴ William Hill was born in Scotland and came from Nauvoo the Salt Lake Valley in 1852. After his marriage in 1857 he and his wives lived in Lehi between 1858 and 1860 and then in Toquerville until 1880. He moved to Mesa, Arizona under polygamy pressures. He would have known Margaretha and Henry K in both places.

¹⁴⁵ I did not see a record in the Toquerville ward record of his baptism, but it shows him having been ordained an elder, but no date was given.

the country and peddle them... Most of them were utilitarian and accurate as bushel, half bushel and peck measures. How he measured them no one knew. He'd leave the bark on the willows for rough work on the farm, but he would peel the bark off and make nice light colored ones for indoor or special use. He recognized voices readily, and when anyone he knew spoke to him he could call him by name even though he hadn't heard him for years. He could mend shoes and he could butcher an animal as well as anyone in the county.



One of Ulrich's baskets

Photo from Bryner museum

On June 20, 1875, my own great grandmother Annie Bryner¹⁴⁶ was born to Margaretha in Toquerville. That is about when the Silver Reef mine opened up in the mountains only a few miles to the west between Toquerville and Leeds. They offered the older girls \$40 per month to work as maids for private families.

The discovery of silver at Silver Reef transformed the local economy not only by hiring the young people, but Toquerville became the "garden" for the mining camp. Farmers sold fresh fruit, vegetables, and wine to the miners at high prices. However, many Mormons worried about the Gentile influence on their community. Henry George Mathys, the son of John Mathys in St. George, wrote this of Silver Reef.

A demand for labor induced people to neglect their little farms and go to Silver Reef to work. In some instances, this was a detriment to the country and especially to some of the young men who went there to work. Silver Reef became one of the toughest camps in the west--wide open to all kinds of vice and gambling. While these evils were going on, it helped the honest conservative people to finance homes and other things that were needed to develop the country. Money had been so scarce that it seemed good to be able to handle some of it.¹⁴⁷

During that year Ulrich Bryner donated \$26.00 in labor to the St. George Temple.

On December 25, 1876, Maria Bryner's oldest daughter Paulina married John H. Pace in New Harmony.

¹⁴⁶ Her name was Barbara Ann, but she was known as "Annie." I will use that name to distinguish her from her father's sister, who was also named Barbara Ann Bryner.

¹⁴⁷Autobiography of Henry George Mathys, *FamilySearch* Memories, p.8. KW8M-4NZ.

Enoch Conrad Bryner was born October 5, 1876. No blessing or baptism is recorded in either the Toquerville or New Harmony ward records.

Maria's daughter Elizabeth Ann wrote further:

I lived with my aunt (Margaretha), father's second wife, in Toquerville. She wove cloth out of wool and cotton. I had to run quills for weaving, also helped gather "oose" which we had to mash and soak to wash with (in the Washington factory) for a while in the summer.

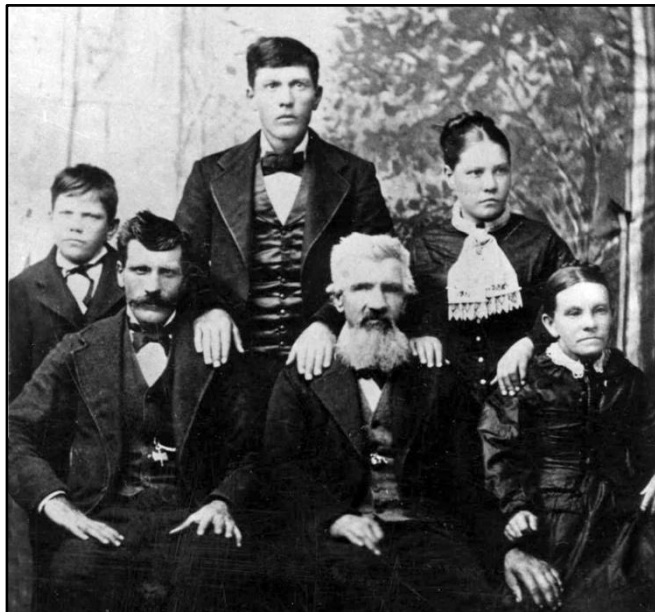
At this point there were six living children in each of Ulrich's families. Margaretha's children were between two months and seven years old, and Maria's were from six to 22. Eighteen-year-old Paulina was married and still living in New Harmony, and two of Maria's children had died, one at the age of 12 years and the other at three weeks.

Although no records survive, we can safely assume that preparations for the dedication of the St. George Temple were paramount for Margaretha and the other women of the Toquerville Ward during this time. In neighboring Leeds, the Relief Society minutes show that the sisters were meeting twice a month before December 1876, and then weekly on temple-related work. All the surrounding towns were actively involved. Temple construction workers worked every tenth day without pay as tithing. Others gave food, clothing, and other goods. Women decorated the temple hallways with handmade rag carpets and produced fringe for the altars and pulpits from Utah-produced silk.

A private dedication of the St. George Temple was held on January 1, 1877, which included all the local Church authorities and Brigham Young with the Quorum of the Twelve.

John D. Lee was convicted for murder at Mountain Meadows in Salt Lake City and was executed at the site on March 23, 1877.

During General Conference, which was moved that year from Salt Lake City to St. George, the St. George Temple was publicly dedicated on April 6, 1877. That is probably when Maria's family had this family photograph taken.



Maria's family. Rear: Frank, Albert, Elizabeth.
Front: Henry G, Ulrich, Maria.

Brigham Young died August 29, 1877, possibly of a ruptured appendix. Over 12,000 people attended his funeral at the Salt Lake Tabernacle.

Childhood diseases were an issue throughout the whole territory during the fall of 1877 and the following winter. In February 1878 the Salt Lake papers reported deaths from diphtheria in every issue, including a family who had lost four children in 16 days. It is likely that the disease reached the outlying settlements as well.

Ulrich donated \$9.15 in provisions to the Manti Temple fund in September, and on December 11, 1877 he donated \$12 to the St. George Temple. These were recorded in the New Harmony ward records, which showed similar gifts from him every year.

Ulrich appeared at the First Judicial District Court in Salt Lake City on November 21, 1878, to receive his certificate of U. S. citizenship.

Margaretha's oldest sons Johnny and George were both baptized on July 7, 1879 in New Harmony, not Toquerville, another sign that Ulrich's two families felt comfortable living in both towns. Johnny was ten and George was eight,

Her oldest daughter, Mary Wintch Bryner, was re-baptized in Toquerville by George Spilsbury and confirmed by Charles Stapley Jr. on August 7, 1879. Mary was 14 years old by that time. Two months later, Lilly Agnes was born in Toquerville on October 13th.

The second census in New Harmony on June 2, 1880 was counted by Lewis W. Stout, the 24 year old oldest son of Hosea Stout of Mormon fame. Ulrich and Maria lived next door to Maria's brother Henry Mathys and his wife Elizabeth and five children between three and 16 years old. Ulrich was 53 and Maria was 52. Their oldest son Henry was 27. Albert was 17, Verena was 14, and Frank (Casper Franklin) was ten, and they had a boarder named Henry Benc, a 42-year-old laborer from England.

Two days later the census was counted in Toquerville by John Steele, the local justice of the peace.¹⁴⁸ Ulrich appeared in both places, so he must have made a trip to Toquerville in between. Margaretha's Henry K was now 20 years old and working on the farm. Mary was 15. By that time Margaretha had given birth to eight children with Ulrich: Johnnie, George, James, Barbara Ann (Annie), Enoch, Rosella, and Lilly. They were all under 12.

¹⁴⁸ John Steele joined the Church in Ireland in 1843 and with his family joined the Mormons in Nauvoo in 1845. He was in the Mormon Battalion and was called to the Iron Mission in 1851, where he was a captain of the militia, mayor, judge, and county recorder in Parowan. In 1853 he moved with John D. Lee to Kanarrville, and then to Toquerville. He was sent on a mission in Las Vegas to the Indians in 1855. In Toquerville he was justice of the peace, county surveyor, assessor, and collector. Served as postmaster and surveyor; his 1862 home is a historic site. He lived there for the rest of his life.

It is likely that John Ulrich, Josephine, and George were attending school. The first name in the census was Lucious Wheaton Peck, a professional teacher, who had moved to town from a similar job in St. George. He was a 59 year old man whose wife and children were living in Miami, Ohio.¹⁴⁹

Living in the Bryner household in Toquerville was a 59 year old woman from Zürich named Susanna Müller, who was listed as a servant. According to Rosella, who was two years old at the time of the census recalled, “Aunt Susan,¹⁵⁰ whom we all loved, took care of the housework and care of the children while mother took up weaving again and helped father so much.”

Susanna went by her maiden name in the census--her married name was Susanna Rosenstock. She had recently moved to Toquerville from St. George after the sad death of her 35 year old daughter Anna. Here is Susanna’s story.

Susanna was born May 13, 1821 and baptized as an infant in the great Catholic cathedral in Zürich. She married Heinrich Rosenstock when she was 21, and they had three children. The first died at the age of two, and her third child did not survive infancy. After seven years of marriage, her husband also died, leaving her with a five year old girl named Anna. This was five years before the first missionaries came to Zürich.

When Anna was 23 years old, she was baptized a Mormon in Lake Zürich on February 23, 1868, five years after Margaretha Kuhn had arrived in Utah. Two and a half years later, Susanna was baptized on October 2, 1870,¹⁵¹ and six years after that, the mother and daughter immigrated to Utah via Liverpool, courtesy of a loan from the Perpetual Immigration Fund. They went directly to St. George, where many Swiss Mormons lived, and Anna was re-baptized there on October 5, 1876.

Around a year later, Anna Rosenstock discovered that she had become pregnant by a married Mormon immigrant from Switzerland named Gottfried Wellauer.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ When Wheaton joined the Church in Ohio in 1854, his wife refused baptism, so he left his family and his school teaching job and went to Zion, where he married Zina Rozella Morris, a 19 year old school teacher as a second wife. They had twin daughters in 1868 who did not survive. While Lucious was on a mission, Rozella divorced him. Since his mission territory included Ohio, he again tried to convince his first wife Elizabeth and the children to join the Church, and they had their 10th child while he was there. When she wouldn’t return with him, he returned to Utah alone. He taught school in Kamas, Salt Lake City, St. George, and other locations, always sending long love letters to his wife, who never came. Staying single, he was an active member of the Toquerville ward. He later taught in Springdale, Bunkerville, and Pioche.

¹⁵⁰ The Bryner children also called her “Mully.”

¹⁵¹ Swiss and German Mission record of members 1851-1909, LR 8884 7, 82/363.

¹⁵² Wellauer had been baptized in Thundorf, Switzerland, about 30 mile NE of Zürich on November 28 1868. After his first wife died in Switzerland in 1871, he immigrated to America. He had married a second wife, Balbina Rohner in St. George on July 20, 1874, and had no children. One day after the St. George Temple

I could find no record of a marriage between Anna and Wellauer, and they were not sealed in the temple.¹⁵³ Tragically, Anna, who was by this time 35 years old, died on August 2, 1879, 11 days after her child was born, and the child died two weeks later on August 16th. Anna's grieving mother Susanna Müller Rosenstock left St. George and moved into the Bryner home in Toquerville shortly after that.

Although Susanna had been baptized in Switzerland, it may have been primarily to qualify her to emigrate with her Mormon daughter aided by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. Susanna's name does not appear in the records of any ward in Utah in which she lived, St. George, Toquerville, or Price, so she probably did not consider herself a Mormon. Although she was later sealed to Ulrich and to her parents in the St. George Temple in 1883, she was not endowed during her lifetime.

As suggested in the census, Susanna had been hired by Ulrich to take care of the housework and children in order to free Margaretha to take on a larger role in supporting the family economically. Margaretha took up weaving again and also helped with the fruits and wine, the main products of their farm. And she also replaced the children as Ulrich's driver. Their daughter Rosella wrote,

Because father was blind, mother drove the wagon teams with a trail wagon loaded with many dry fruits, wine, and molasses. They were able to buy the year's supply of clothing and shoes with these sales. Mother helped the neighbors by taking their dried fruits. It took them three months to make the trip. Father helped her put the harness on the horses and would sit on the brake side of the wagon. He put the brakes on whenever she needed them while driving the team.¹⁵⁴ Besides driving the team for her blind husband she trailed a wagon and took dried fruits for her neighbors.

Evidently Margaretha, among her other skills, became adept at driving a wagon. As far as I can tell, her handicapped son Henry K did not drive, and her other children were too young. Of course, Maria's children often stepped in to help.

opened for endowments, Gottfried Wellauer was sealed to both Balbina and his deceased wife Elizabeth Burhrer, and by June he had been sealed posthumously to 22 other Swiss women. All of this was before he impregnated Anna Rosenstock, to whom he was not sealed.

¹⁵³ However, her grave in the St. George cemetery is registered as "Anna Rosenstack Wellaner." Anna was finally sealed to Wellauer a century and a half later on July 8, 2025 in the Feather River, California temple.

¹⁵⁴ This is from a biography not posted in *FamilySearch* called *Early History of Margaretha Kuhn Bryner* by her daughter Rosella B. Anderson. It is in the files of the Bryner Museum in Price, Utah.

On September 11th, 1880 an electric light exhibition took place in Salt Lake City in front of ZCMI. Thirty days later, John Taylor was named President of the Church after a gap in leadership of three years following Brigham Young's death.

The influx of "Gentiles" into the nearby mining town of Silver Reef was causing cultural friction in Toquerville. In 1881 a Presbyterian missionary named Frances Rosilla Burke arrived to set up a mission school in Toquerville, which experienced significant resistance from the local LDS community.

Margaretha's ninth child, Jacob Alma, was born in Toquerville and blessed October 2, 1881 by John C. Naegle.

In March 1882, Ulrich's 21 year old nephew from St. George, Henry Mathys, the son of Ulrich's sister Barbara Ann and John Mathys¹⁵⁵ was on his way to seek his fortune in Mexico, descending to cross the Colorado River at the A. W. Ivins'¹⁵⁶ cattle ranch.¹⁵⁷ Henry wrote:

While on this descent, I met Uncle Ulrich Bryner and his son Henry returning from a peddling trip through the camps in Arizona. They reported they sold butter for one dollar a pound and eggs for one dollar per dozen and vegetables in proportion.¹⁵⁸

By this time Henry G was a capable 29 year old bachelor, and although he had lost his hearing a year earlier,¹⁵⁹ he and his blind father did not hesitate to make long business trips together. The "camps" were probably the Mormon Little Colorado River settlements, which were United Order camps at Joseph City, Sunset, and Brigham City near present-day Winslow, Arizona. That would have been a trip of 300 miles each way, about the same length of Ulrich's trips to Salt Lake City.¹⁶⁰ In a wagon, that would have been 2-3 weeks in each direction. Counting the time they stopped to sell, they would be away from home for

¹⁵⁵ Brief bio of Henry George Mathys. Henry (he probably went by Henry judging from the census) attended Brigham Young Academy before he married Mary Jane De Friez in St. George January 30, 1890, when he was 29. Their child Mary Florence was born July 12, 1891 in Price and Mary Jane died in childbirth. He took a second wife, Sarah Ann Macfarlane in St. George November 22, 1893. He was on a mission to Germany from 1900-1902. All their children were born in Price between 1895 and 1908. He lived there the rest of his life.

¹⁵⁶ This was Anthony W. Ivins, the future apostle and member of the First Presidency, and cousin of Heber J. Grant. At that time Ivins had just been called on a mission to Mexico. He had been part of the move to Dixie in 1861.

¹⁵⁷ His cattle ranch was probably on the Kaibab Plateau, and the likely crossing was Lee's ferry.

¹⁵⁸ Autobiography, *FamilySearch* Memories KW8M-4NZ.

¹⁵⁹ Isabella Birch Bryner Life Story, *FamilySearch* Memories, KWZW-PXC.

¹⁶⁰ Earlier that year Anna Kleinmann, Margaretha's friend since her years in Lehi, and her husband Conrad had left Toquerville with their four sons for Alma, Arizona in the Salt River Valley near Mesa, hoping to give their sons better homesteading opportunities, and perhaps to escape the growing federal pressures on polygamy. They were not able to escape the latter, needing to spend time hiding in the Superstition Mountains in 1883, but they were successful in establishing 280 acres of farmland. Conrad served in two bishoprics and was later called to be a patriarch. The Kleinmanns and the Bryners would come together again in their retirement two decades later.

a month or two. They were probably carrying dried fruits, molasses, baskets, and Dixie wine. Other possible items are cotton and Ulrich's specialty, straw hats.

On October 1, 1882, three of Margaretha's children, Josephine, George, and James Levi, were baptized in a group of seven children by John Batty. Three weeks later her last child, Edith Margaretha was born.

On February 16, 1883, Ulrich was sealed in marriage to Susanna Müller in the St. George temple. He was 55 and she was 61. By this time, she had been living with the family for over three years, taking care of the children while Margaretha worked.

Edith Margaretha was blessed on June 19, 1883 by C. Stapley in Toquerville. Annie was baptized by John Batty on October 21, 1883. This is the last evidence in the ward record that Margaretha's family was living in Toquerville.

Around this time the Silver Reef mines had begun to decline, and the LDS Church began to discourage the wine industry in favor of "Word of Wisdom" adherence. This led to a gradual transition back to quiet, small-scale farming that preserved much of Toquerville's 19th-century character.

Price, Utah

Long before the age of man, Jurassic dinosaurs frequented the area now known as Carbon County, Utah. Some of their fossils can be seen at the Cleveland-Lloyd quarry about 30 miles south of Price.

Thousands of years ago the region was inhabited by highly mobile hunter-gatherer groups of Native Americans, who left scant evidence of their activity. Stone tools and projectile points suggest that they hunted Pleistocene megafauna such as the Columbian mammoth, an example of which was unearthed at Huntington reservoir in 1988.¹⁶¹ Evidence is also found in the area of the giant short-faced bear, the apex predator of the region and significantly larger and faster than a modern grizzly. There were also the western camel and the ancient bison, a primary food source for the first Paleo-Indians.

The Fremont culture lived in the area from 500-1300 A.D. and left world-renowned petroglyphs and pictographs, especially in Nine Mile Canyon, before the group mysteriously disappeared, probably due to climactic changes. They were replaced by the nomadic Utes, who spent winters in the sheltered valleys of the Price River. After the Spaniards brought the horse to America, the Utes traveled widely throughout the Great Basin and the Colorado Plateau.

The main part of the Old Spanish Trail bypassed Castle Valley and made its way west through the Uintah Basin, but a southern spur was used by John Wesley Powell and various railroad surveyors in the mid-1800s, who discovered and documented the coal fields that eventually gave the county its name.

Except for passage by occasional trappers, the area was unknown to white people for two decades after the Latter-day Saints entered the Great Basin until Bishop William Price made an exploring trip up Spanish Fork Canyon from Goshen, probably during the summer of 1869. After crossing what is now called Soldier's Summit, he came across the stream now called the White River. Following the river, he found another stream about six miles away, which ran through Pleasant Valley and came to be known as Fish Creek. The convergence of these streams became known as the Price River, named after him. Legend has it that Bishop Price followed this stream down past the now famous Castlegate Rock and from there into the valley as far east as Wellington.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ This was a massive bull, whose nearly complete skeleton is now the centerpiece of the USU Eastern Prehistoric Museum in Price.

¹⁶² Centennial Echoes from Carbon County, DUP 1948, p. 71.

It would be another eight years before Caleb Rhoades¹⁶³ and Abraham Powell followed the same trail as William Price from Salina, entering Castle Valley via Spanish Fork Canyon and following the White River and the Price River in July 1877. They built a dugout on the Price River two miles northwest of the present town of Price in what is now called Rhoades Meadow and stayed there for the winter hunting and trapping, but when Powell was killed by a grizzly bear while hunting around Mt. Nebo, their presence was interrupted until 1879.

While Powell and Rhoades were living in their dugout, a meeting was being held in Mt. Pleasant on September 22, 1877 to encourage Mormons to settle the headwaters of the San Rafael River. One of the first to be selected by Bishop Canute Peterson was Orange Seely, who set out with a group of men from Mt. Pleasant and Moroni in October 1877 with five ox-drawn wagons. They crawled up Fairview Canyon into the headwaters of Cottonwood Creek, creating a road where needed and descended through what is now called Joe's Valley. From there they followed another creek named Cottonwood and arrived in Castle Valley on November 2, 1877, where they claimed homesteads near present Orangeville and Castle Dale. Only seven men remained through the winter, but in 1878, several returned with their families and settled in Castle Dale, Ferron, and Orangeville. The areas now known as Huntington and Price were also explored about that time.

This was after Powell and Rhoades had temporarily deserted their cabin, but Caleb Rhoades returned from Salem in the summer of 1879 with Powell's brother John Ammon Powell, John's son Robert, and Frederick E. Grames to claim homesteads along the Price River. Several additional settlers from Salem joined them in the next year or two.

The final treaty to end the Black Hawk War was signed September 15, 1879 by Orson Hyde, Bishop Seeley, and Col. Reddick Allred, when they met with several chiefs at Mt. Pleasant. The war had killed 72 white people and 122 Indians. After that, the prospect of settling in Castle Valley became more inviting.

George Downard lived in Spring City. His son William wrote, "When I was 13, I went with my father through Salina Canyon over the mountain to what is now Emery County. We went again in October 1880 (and) my father and I went further and settled on the Price River. We made a dug-out along the Price River and called it home."¹⁶⁴ The rest of the family followed in 1882. The Downard family had joined the tiny group of Rhoades and his friends from Salem.

¹⁶³ Caleb Rhoades was the son of Thomas Rhoads, who first entered the Kamas Valley in 1855 and settled it a year later. These are the people who allegedly discovered a secret Spanish gold mine in the Uinta Mountains. Legends and myths concerning the mine persist, but its location was not divulged by the Rhoades family, and it has never been found.

¹⁶⁴ The Story, History of George Downard 1867, *FamilySearch* Memories, KWJW-MZG.

It is interesting that the Downards initially took a southern route to Castle Valley through Salina rather than via Fairview Canyon as the Seely's Mt. Pleasant group had done, since it was 50 miles longer. The roads must have been much better, or perhaps the Downards were scouting the route in anticipation of immigrants coming later from the south. This is the route that the Bryner's took five years later.

By February 12, 1880, enough Saints had moved from Sanpete County to create Emery County. Post offices were established in Castle Dale, Ferron, and probably Huntington. Erastus Snow, Brigham Young Jr., Canute Peterson and others visited in August 1880 and created the Emery Stake. A branch was organized in Castle Valley (later Price) in 1881 with George Downard of Spring City presiding over the settlers from Salem under the direction of Orson Hyde. That year the town of Emery was also settled by people from Spring City.

On February 16, 1882, the U. S. Senate passed the Edmunds Act, which made polygamy a felony. The Act had passed the House of Representatives on the 14th and was soon signed by President Chester A. Arthur. On April 19th, George Q. Cannon was denied his seat as a territorial representative in Congress.

The Homestead Act was signed by President Abraham Lincoln on May 20, 1862, further stimulating interest in the remaining Utah wilderness.

Also that year, the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad began its completion of the last and most difficult segment of its link between Denver and the Transcontinental Railway at Ogden. This required crossing the desert between Green River, Utah along the Price River to Soldiers Summit and down Spanish Fork Canyon to Provo.

The contract for grading and providing timber railroad ties for the segment that included the future town of Price was won by a Mormon entrepreneur named Joseph Flitcroft Birch. He had previously been called by Brigham Young to settle in Belleview, later called Pintura, a tiny town seven miles north of Toquerville. The Birches were probably in the same ward as the Bryner family between 1873 and 1880, when Birch was selling merchandise to the miners in Leeds and Silver Reef.¹⁶⁵

The main construction camp for the railroad project was close to the cluster of cabins of Mormons who had come from Salina, and much of the labor for the segment west of Green River, especially the grading, was supplied by young Mormon men from throughout the state. Mormons were preferred by the railroad bosses because there were fewer strikes and Monday morning hangovers to slow down the work. Railroad work had become a rite

¹⁶⁵ Years earlier, Birch had become wealthy after working for the quartermaster of Johnston's Army, buying their surplus goods when they left the state and reselling them. Before moving to Belleview, he had run a freighting business from St. George to San Bernardino, California.

of passage for young Mormon men and a welcome source of income. The pay was good for the times--\$1.10 to \$1.50 per day--although the Mormon men were often paid in scrip, which could be redeemed in bishop's storehouses and ZCMI. LDS bishops organized camps that forbade swearing, drinking, and gambling. The work was grueling. In the canyons, crews dealt with constant rockslides and "the narrows" of the Price River, where the ledge for the track had to be blasted directly out of the cliffs.

Ulrich and Maria Bryner's 25 year old nephew from St. George, John Henry Mathys,¹⁶⁶ drove strong teams of horses on the project, which involved dragging horse-drawn scoops called slushers and fresnos to move tons of earth. A fresno was a large, heavy-duty scoop drawn by two to four horses, which could move 10 to 18 cubic feet (around a half ton of dirt) per load and had a lever system for dumping the dirt. In Price Canyon, nitroglycerin or black powder was used to carve ledges out of the cliffs.

Before John Henry Mathys returned from his work to St. George in the fall of 1882, he bought a farm a mile and a half northwest of the planned railroad station from a homesteader named Levi Simmons.

On October 12, 1882, George Frandsen of Mt. Pleasant was appointed to serve as branch president over the 15 Mormon families near the construction camp on October 12, 1882. They met in members' homes, which at the time were mostly scattered rough cabins and lean-tos.

At the Emery Stake quarterly conference at Huntington, the branch was reorganized as the Price Ward on November 20, 1882, with Frandson as the bishop.¹⁶⁷ Erastus McIntire of Paragonah was called as first counselor and Caleb B. Rhoads as second counselor.

The two segments of train tracks met near Woodside, 44 miles southeast of Price, on March 30, 1883, the Denver and Rio Grande's "promontory point moment," and railway service between Denver and Provo began in May. That spring Bishop Frandsen had the townsite of Price surveyed and a log meeting house was built.¹⁶⁸

Wilford Woodruff, the member of the LDS First Presidency who lived in St. George, visited the new Price Ward in June 1883 just three months after the railway opened service, probably on his way home from General Conference. He was interested in building up a significant Mormon presence there to balance out the rough element that had come with the railroad.

¹⁶⁶ John Henry Mathys was the oldest son of John and Anna Barbara Bryner Mathys, born in Lehi in 1857. He married Emma Nixon of Santa Clara on April 26, 1882, just two months after her father died.

¹⁶⁷ Church History Library, CR 375.8, Price Ward, Part 1, 6/296.

¹⁶⁸ Encyclopedic History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Andrew Jenson, p. 678.

Shortly after Woodruff's visit, Ulrich's nephew John Henry Mathys loaded his wife Emma, their infant daughter Clara, and all their belongings into a wagon and set out from St. George for the Price River, arriving in two weeks. That fall he built a log house on the farm he had bought while working on the railroad. Around the same time, Maria Bryner's niece Barbara Mathys with her husband Brigham McIntire and their three children followed from St. George with two unmarried sons of Ulrich's brother Casper Bryner named Henry and Harmon. Brigham McIntire and his brother Erastus from Paragonah claimed a homestead where much of the town of Price was plotted.

That fall Margaretha and her family were still living in Toquerville, but the Bryners must have been aware that some of their Bryner and Mathys relatives had moved to Castle Valley. Wilford Woodruff was actively recruiting families from the St. George Stake to move there and may have even issued a call to Ulrich.¹⁶⁹

Margaretha's daughter Annie Bryner was baptized in Toquerville by John Batty on October 21, 1883.

On February 27, 1884, Ulrich and Maria's daughter Verena Bryner married her childhood New Harmony boyfriend, William A. Redd, in the St. George temple. She was 17 and William was 22.

That March, Maria's nephew Henry George Mathys,¹⁷⁰ was finally on his way home from Mexico after two years of adventure. On the way, he took the new train from Colorado to the Castle Valley station to visit his relatives there. There was no actual town yet, only a station building and a freight warehouse. Although it was the nearest railroad point for all of Castle Valley and also the entire Uinta Reservation country including Ashley (later called Vernal), it consisted at that time of just a few log cabins and dugouts along the Price River.

In his entertaining, swashbuckling autobiography¹⁷¹ Henry George Mathys wrote:

I knew that Brig McIntire and Barbara (Mathys) and my brother John and his wife (Emma Nixon) were located in Castle Valley... I walked down the road and the first house I came to, I knocked and was met at the door by my sister Barbara. Of course, it was a surprise as they did not know but what I was in Old Mexico. They were looking for a tramp, however, as Brig had seen me coming down the road while feeding his mules and had informed Barbara there was a tramp coming down the

¹⁶⁹ Family stories falsely claim that Brigham Young had called the Bryners to move to Price, but Brigham had died in 1877.

¹⁷⁰ Henry George Mathys was the young man who had met Ulrich and Henry G coming up the hill from Lee's Ferry two years earlier on his adventure to Mexico.

¹⁷¹ *FamilySearch* Memories, Autobiography of Henry George Mathys, p. 19, KW8M-4NZ.

road. It was a happy meeting as we had not seen each other for more than two years... We hitched up Brig's mules, drove up to the station, got my trunk and drove up to my brother John's (John Henry Mathys) place about one and a half miles up the railroad. John and Emma were as surprised as any of them. I was not at all attracted to the country as it did not look good to me. However, there were some advantages. I found my relatives, the Bryners,¹⁷² and also a number of people that I had known before.

Henry George Mathys continued: "It was April Conference time, and we decided we would all go to Salt Lake to Conference."

By coincidence or not, Ulrich Bryner was in Salt Lake City when they arrived. They may have run into each other at conference or even planned to meet. On April 8, 1884, two days after conference concluded, Ulrich was in the Salt Lake City Land Office registering for a homestead claim in Emery County. He had never seen the property, choosing it from a survey map divided into townships and sections, but he knew exactly what he was getting. The land he claimed bordered his nephew John Henry Mathys' farm.

Ulrich's claim was for the standard 160 acres, but 80 of the acres already had a cabin on it. That part was an earlier claim that had been relinquished by Matt Simmons, the brother of the man who had sold the farm to John Henry Mathys a mile and a half northwest of the Price train station.

Immediately upon his return from Salt Lake City, Ulrich sold his house in Toquerville and moved Margaretha, their 10 children,¹⁷³ Henry K, Mary Wintch Bryner, and his third wife Susanna with all that they owned to New Harmony, where they lived until July, preparing to move both of his families to Castle Valley.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² These were Henry and Harmon Bryner, the two oldest sons of Ulrich's brother Casper, ages 20 and nearly 18, neither of them married yet.

¹⁷³ Some family trees show an eleventh child named Jacqueline Elaine Bryner, born in 1884, "a baby that died". No primary sources are given and there is no birth or blessing for a child of that name in the records of any of the three wards in which the family lived that year, and the name does not appear with Margaretha's children in the family Bible. Family information in the Family History International Genealogical Index contains the name of a baby named Jacqueline Elaine Bruno, who was born in 1844. She may have been mistaken as the eleventh child of Margaretha and Ulrich. There is another person with that exact name in *FamilySearch* KW8Q-6BK, but she was born in 1925. Interestingly, she married Clell Urban McCullin, a great-grandson of Margaretha.

¹⁷⁴ Their Toquerville church membership records were transferred to the New Harmony Ward on May 17, 1884, but they had likely left by the time that the house sold. Actually, the last recorded evidence of the Bryners in Toquerville was Annie's baptism on October 21, 1883.

It is not clear which church authority (if any) called Bryners to settle Castle Valley.¹⁷⁵ Ulrich may have already been planning to go, since he was aware of his nephews and nieces from St. George there, and he knew that land was available for homesteading. His daughters Lilly and Rosella recalled, “Father decided it would be good to join them there so that he might have their aid in caring for the cattle and in helping the younger boys to get land and make homes.”¹⁷⁶ Getting land was a legitimate worry, because there was little or no property around Toquerville available.

Margaretha’s daughters Rosella and Lilly chronicled the trip from Toquerville to Castle Valley in an interview that took place with Rosella’s daughter Verena about 60 years after the event. They are the only participants who left an account of the story.¹⁷⁷ The girls were four and six years old at the time, and they said that it seemed like months to them, but the trip actually took 17 days, a good pace of about 16 miles per day, but slower than John Henry Mathys’ journey from St. George the previous year. They left New Harmony on July 7, 1884. The trip was a grueling 250 miles. Large wagon trains with livestock and heavy supplies generally averaged about 10 to 15 miles a day, so by that standard, the Bryners made very good time.

Ulrich had traveled a similar distance to Salt Lake City many times with one of his children or Margaretha for a driver, and also trips of similar distance to Arizona with Maria’s son Henry G. Still, this move with his family and household was a monumental achievement.

Only Ulrich’s second and third wives made the trip. Maria and her youngest son, Frank, who had just turned 14, followed them over a year later. Susanna, who did go with him, was by this time 63 years old and had been living with the family for five years.¹⁷⁸

Maria’s second son Albert seems to have left independently for Castle Valley a month earlier, with his wife Moriah and their two young daughters.¹⁷⁹

Except for Albert and Maria’s oldest son Henry G, the rest of Maria’s children stayed behind. Paulina, her oldest girl, had married John Pace seven years earlier, and they lived in Bluff

¹⁷⁵ Wilford Woodruff and St. George Stake President McCallister were both in the conference the previous October.

¹⁷⁶ This statement is missing from several of their accounts. It can be found in *FamilySearch* Memories, KWJV-W4C, the version dictated by the two daughters to Verena A. Nielsen.

¹⁷⁷ Maria’s granddaughter Lura Redd also gave an excellent report of the trip, but it should be noted that the two reports disagree on many details and often conflict with each other. Where there is a conflict, I have used the account of Rosella and Lilly, who were eyewitnesses.

¹⁷⁸ The girls wrote fourteen months, but that isn’t correct. Susanna came to Toquerville in 1879, and she was present in the 1880 census.

¹⁷⁹ Price Ward records show that his membership was transferred from New Harmony on August 3, 1884. The records of his brother Henry G, Ulrich, and Margaretha’s family arrived September 14, 1884. Maria and Frank’s membership were not transferred until December 28, 1885, over a year later.

with their three children, expecting another child. They had been part of the famous Hole-in-the-Rock expedition.

Twenty-four year old Elizabeth Ann had married George Wood in 1878 and was living in Cedar City with four children. The traveling Bryners probably stopped for rest at her house on the way.

Verena had recently married William Alexander Redd and remained in New Harmony.¹⁸⁰

Margaretha's oldest daughter Mary, the daughter of Caspar Wintch, did not go with them either. After her family hit the road, Mary returned to Toquerville, where she soon married her boyfriend Heber Lehi Naegle on January 1, 1885.¹⁸¹

The traveling party consisted of 14 people in two or three wagons, but there were only three adult males: Ulrich, who was now 57 years old, Margaretha's autistic son Henry K, 25 years old, and Henry G, who was 31, and still a bachelor.¹⁸² Her boys--Enoch Conrad, James Levi, George William, and John Ulrich--were from seven to 15 years old. Susanna took care of Margaretha's two youngest children--Jacob Alma, age three, and Edith Margaretha, who was only eight months old--while Margaretha drove one of the wagons.

It is remarkable that all three adult males were impaired in some significant way. Ulrich was, of course, blind. Margaretha's Henry K was mentally impaired, and Maria's Henry G had been stone deaf since 1881.

Lilly and Rosella wrote,

With the cows and little calves, we had to travel very slowly. At night the calves were separated from their mothers, so the cows could be milked in the morning. We often put the milk in a wooden churn and tied to the side of the wagon and by night there would be a lump of butter.

The younger boys drove the cattle and horses. Johnnie, Margaretha's 15 year old son, took charge of them. Ulrich sat beside Margaretha and helped with the brakes. With her help and guidance, Ulrich harnessed the horses each morning and unharnessed them at night. Henry G drove the other wagon with a four-horse team.

¹⁸⁰ Verena was 17 and William was 22. William later served as bishop in New Harmony until 1906, and then they moved to Canada. Lura Redd, the biographer, was her daughter.

¹⁸¹ They were still living in Toquerville when Mary died in 1896.

¹⁸² Both Henrys were half-brothers to Rosella and Lilly—one shared a father and one shared a mother with them, and after Margaretha's Henry K. was adopted by Ulrich they had exactly the same name—Heinrich Gottfried Bryner.

They set out north on the “Old Mormon Road” to Cedar City through Parowan and Beaver and then turned east at Cove Fort along the Old Spanish Trail, crossing the LaSalle Mountains on a road that had been built by 50 men from various communities to improve the trail over the pass into Sevier Valley in 1873. It had a toll gate that charged 25 cents per wagon.¹⁸³ From there they made their way up the Sevier River Valley past Richfield to Salina.¹⁸⁴

From there they had a choice to go north through Sanpete County or east through Salina Canyon and then north through Castle Valley. The problem with the Salina route was that the eastern end of Salina Canyon was impassable by wagon, but it was possible to leave the canyon and travel over the mountain at Gilson's Ranch.¹⁸⁵ The distance from Salina to Price via Emery is 100 miles using the Gibson Ranch cut-off in Salina Canyon, and going via the Sanpete Valley and Fairview Canyon is 111 miles, so the Salina route is actually a little bit shorter, and the trip through Fairview Canyon would have been extremely difficult with loaded wagons, so they chose the former.

From there, the Bryners were able to rest at the several Mormon settlements on the east side of the Manti-LaSalle mountains. The first settlement was Emery, 43 miles from Salina with 16 households. Ferron was 16 miles for Ferron and had 20 families. Castle Dale and Orangeville had 50 families between them. Huntington was ten more miles and had 28. The last leg of the trip from Huntington to the railroad station was 22 miles.

¹⁸³ Warnock, *Through the Years*, Sevier County Centennial History p. 202. The first time the Mormons traversed this canyon was in 1849 by Parley P. Pratt with twelve ox-drawn wagons and 38 men on horses and mules, having come through the valley up the Sevier River.

¹⁸⁴ The town of Salina had been temporarily vacated in 1867 due to the Black Hawk War but was resettled in 1871. By 1880 there were about 300 people living there in 56 households.

¹⁸⁵ Samuel Gilson was one of the most prominent non-Mormon citizens of Utah at the time. He and his brother had come west to the California gold fields as teenagers. In the '60s after working briefly as Pony Express riders they raised horses in Nevada before moving to the Sevier Valley in the 1870s. Sam Gilson, who was reportedly six feet four inches tall and weighed 280 pounds, also worked as a U.S. Marshal. And he was a prospector who was involved in developing the Sunnyside Mine and the discoverer of gilsonite in the Uintah Basin. (Gilsonite is a naturally occurring, solid, black, lightweight organic material that originates from the solidification of petroleum. The dull, black appearance of weathered gilsonite resembles coal, but the surface of freshly broken gilsonite is shiny and resembles obsidian. It is unique to the Uintah Basin. The first regular shipments of gilsonite began in 1888, from veins in the western part of the gilsonite field. The name "gilsonite" comes from Samuel Gilson's name. The scientific name for gilsonite is "Uintahite".

<https://geology.utah.gov/map-pub/survey-notes/gilsonite-an-unusual-utah-resource> Gilson, although not a Mormon, was present at the laying of the cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple, the celebration at Promontory Point for the opening of the Transcontinental Railway, and at the execution of John D. Lee at Mountain Meadows.

After 17 days of tiresome travel through mountains and desert, they arrived at the little settlement on the Price River, which was still called Castle Valley, the name of the railroad stop. They arrived July 23rd, just in time for the Pioneer Day Celebration.

Rosella and Lilly wrote:

As we drove along the tracks that evening, we saw a train for the first time.¹⁸⁶ It was after dark and a long freight train came puffing and spitting fire from the pipes. It frightened us and the horses, and they jumped and reared up, but we watched it until it was out of sight. The next morning, we went to see the track and were told that the two narrow gauge rails were for the train to run on. We marveled at the passenger train with people riding in the cars... We drove to our farm which was one mile west of the station.

The cabin that was awaiting them on the homestead was 14 x 26 feet with two rooms. It could not hold them all but must have been a welcome sight after the weeks on the trail. The Bryners eventually owned a stable on the farm, water rights worth \$75, and irrigation ditches worth \$150.

The day after we arrived was the 24th of July and there was a big celebration down by the river near the pump house, where they pumped water into a high tank for the trains. Everyone was invited to come and stay all day. There were logs for the tables and benches, and some spread their lunch on the ground. People were there from miles up and down the river. There was a tub full of pies made from wild currants and bull berries, and stacks of sandwiches. They made a big swing in the trees for the grownups and a smaller swing for the children, which we all enjoyed. We had celebrations there for years after. The first dance was held that night, July 24th, at the recently finished log meetinghouse in the center of the townsite.

¹⁸⁶ This was, of course, only true of the children. When Margaretha was 16, locomotives ran regularly within a mile of her house.

A young woman named Isabella Birch met the three older Bryner brothers at a dance at the old log school soon after their arrival, and Henry G began “keeping company” with her. She was 25 when they met and he was six years older. Isabella was the daughter of Joseph Flitcroft Birch, the man who had overseen the construction of the railroad, and she was also talented business woman.



Isabella Birch

She may have already known Henry. When her family was in the Toquerville Ward, she was 21 and he was 27. Although he lived in New Harmony, he spent a lot of time in Toquerville. After 1880 the Birch family moved briefly to Monroe, and then to Price in about 1882 when the railway work got underway. Initially living out of a boxcar, Isabella worked for her father, who had the contract for grading and laying rail for the Southern Utah Railway out of Price. He was a physician, surveyor, and engineer. She initially went to Price with him to cook for his crew, and ended up managing a boarding house, crew and supplies store, and an eating establishment, which is what she was doing when the Bryners arrived. She personally owned 80 acres, which she donated for \$2.50 when the town of Price was formally organized, and it became the southeast quarter of town.

When the Bryners arrived, there was no actual town, just cabins and dugouts clustered around the depot. Probably depot is too generous a word. It was likely a humble, temporary wooden structure or even a retired railcar used as a ticket office located right where the 1882 town survey met the tracks—roughly near the present-day 200 S. and 100 E., which was the southwestern edge of the early settlement.¹⁸⁷

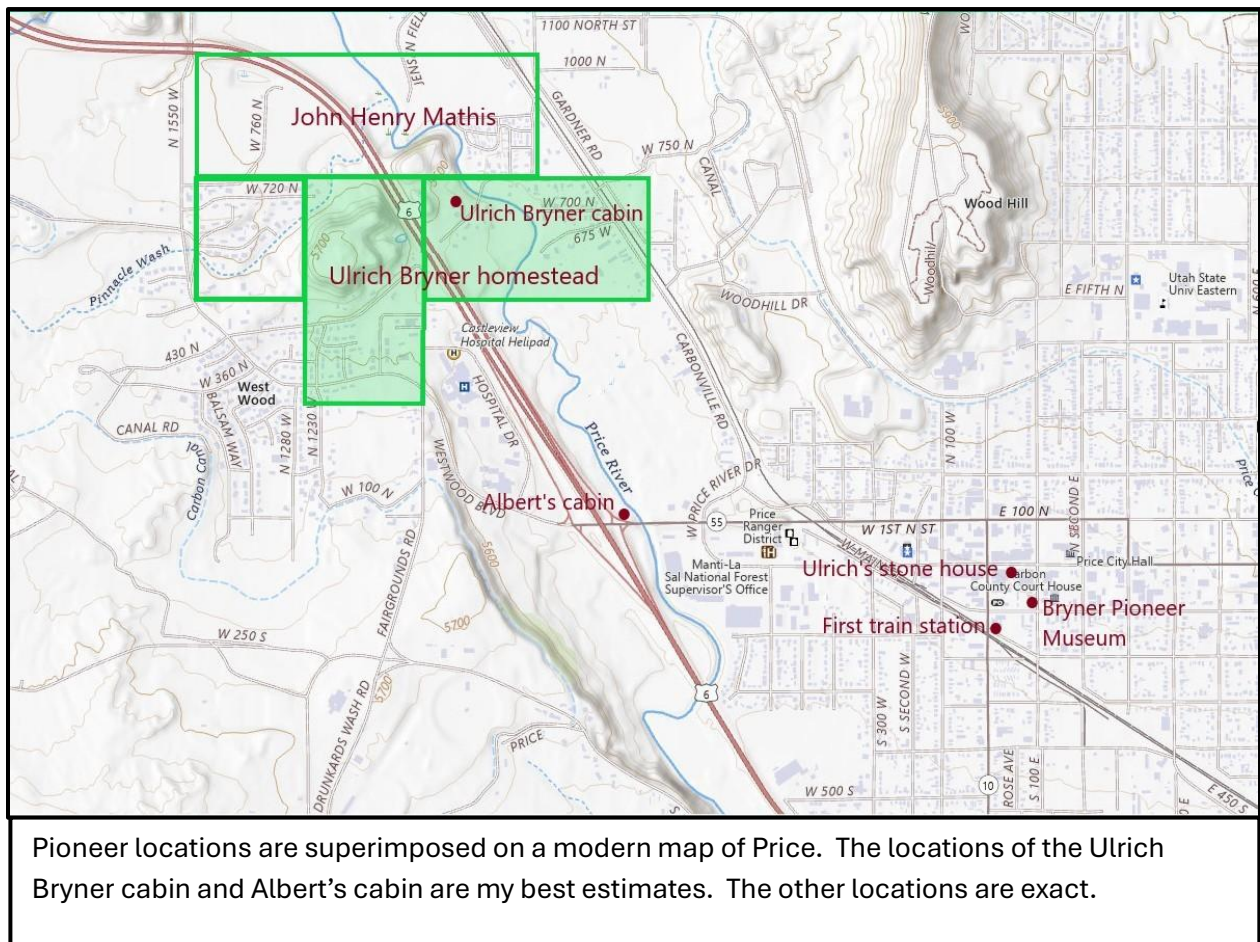
Henry Empey and his family arrived about the same time as the Bryners. They were from Paragonah, which McIntyre’s brother Erastus had left the year before. Other families from southern Utah were also there including the Mathys and Bryner nephews and nieces, but most of the families that met them were the Grames, Powells, Rhoades, and others from Salem and Spanish Fork in Utah County.

According to one story, the Margaretha’s family initially lived in a dugout on the bank of the Price River, which ran right through their homestead property. Some of the children probably did, but Margaretha and the younger children probably moved directly into the

¹⁸⁷ Presently, the main railway hub is in Helper. Amtrak arrives only once a day and passengers use a small unstaffed platform stop and waiting room in Helper and have to get to Price using a taxi or pre-arranged ride.

homestead cabin which was likely also close to the river.¹⁸⁸ John Henry Mathys lived no more than a few hundred feet away with his wife Emma and 15 month old Clara. For the first year, the family members who didn't fit into the cabin were living in dugouts or wagon boxes and busy building temporary cabins. I imagine that "Aunt Susan" lived with Margaretha in the cabin to help with the small children. Albert and his wife Moriah initially lived in a dugout on the bank of the Price River, but soon they built a cabin a little bit downstream from Ulrich's farm.¹⁸⁹

That summer the Bryner boys brought the cattle up on the mountain to graze and brought back logs to start their home in town.



¹⁸⁸ When Ulrich made good on his homestead five years later, he declared that his wife and six children lived in the cabin.

¹⁸⁹ This was said in around 1945 to have been “across the river west of the present Parkview Motor Court.” The Park View Motel was a roadside lodging facility on the west city limits of Highway 6.

On August 3, 1884, the records of Albert and his wife Moriah Bryner from New Harmony were received in the Price Ward. Records for Ulrich and Henry arrived in September.

Albert and Moriah's 15 month old baby Ulrich died in their cabin on the river on November 25, 1844, leaving them with just their two-year-old, William Albert.

Maria's nephew Henry George Mathys, who was still in Price with his brother and sister, finally resumed his return from Mexico and started back for St. George in December 1884 in company with his cousin Harmon Bryner. They went by way of Orangeville, retracing Ulrich's path and stopping for a time at Gilson's ranch.¹⁹⁰

Harmon Bryner got married in St. George on December 27, 1884, and he soon returned to Price with his new wife Edith Wyatt.¹⁹¹

In December, Maria's daughter Pauline Bryner Pace arrived in Castle Valley from Bluff with her husband John Hardison Pace and their children. They were on their way to Ashley Valley in the Uinta Basin to resettle but decided to stop in Price for the winter.¹⁹² Their friends Samuel Cox and his family from Bluff had preceded them by a few months.¹⁹³ The Pace family came north from Bluff to the railroad and then followed the tracks. During that winter Pauline and John Pace lived with or near the Cox family in log houses west of the river. Eventually they gave up their plan to move on to Ashley Valley and lived the rest of their lives in Price.

¹⁹⁰ Actually, Gilson had three cattle ranches in mountains between the Sevier Valley and Castle Valley at that time. To connect them, Gilson had developed the so-called Mountain Ranch Road that avoided the eastern third of Salina Canyon, which could not be traveled by wagon. It begins about 22 miles into Salina Canyon and ends at Quitcupah Creek about three miles south of Emery. It is some distance south of the head of Salina Canyon at the foot of the mountain. There was no wagon travel through Salina Canyon at that time, but there was some travel over the mountain at Gilson's Ranch. Travel could come this way fairly well, but the road was so steep on this side of the mountain that a single team could not pull a wagon up the hill and an extra team was hired from Gilson's ranch.

¹⁹¹ His brother Henry returned to St. George sometime before 1888, when he married Eda Moss. He lived in St. George until he died of a sudden cerebral hemorrhage at the age of 44.

¹⁹² John Hardison Pace and Paulina Dorothea Bryner by Edith Ann Pace Prince, *FamilySearch* Memories KWNK-Z6L, p. 2,3.

¹⁹³ The Pace family was received into the Price Ward on January 4, 1885 from Bluff and the Price family was received on September 14, 1884, the same day as Ulrich and Margaretha Bryner.

Meanwhile, Margaretha's daughter Mary Wintch married Heber Lehi Naegle in St. George on January 1, 1885. She was 19 and he was 20 years old, both having been born in Lehi.¹⁹⁴



Heber Naegle and Mary Wintch

The year 1885 featured many polygamy arrests, trials, and imprisonments, but none at that time in Price that I know of. The body of the Salt Lake Temple had been completed by then, but not the towers. Sam Gilson, the rancher who had helped Ulrich and his family through Salina Canyon in July of 1884, played a significant role in the polygamy issue. During his service as a U.S. marshal through the 1870s and 1880s, he was involved in tracking down and arresting some of the participants in the Mountain Meadows massacre. Then he turned to catching polygamists, primarily in Salt Lake City and in the Sevier Valley, where his ranches were. In 1884 he was appointed to the Edmunds Act Task Force of the U.S. government, which led to over 1,100 convictions, and he personally indicted ten prominent Mormon leaders.

President John Taylor went into hiding on February 1, 1885. In May, the Church advised polygamist men, that to avoid arrest, they should live with just one of their wives.¹⁹⁵ The family stories tell nothing about the effect of this instruction on Margaretha's marriage to Ulrich, but it must have been significant.

Tragically, Margaretha's 14 year old son George Wilhelm Bryner died February 9, 1885. They were still living in the cabin on the farm at the time, but one source¹⁹⁶ claims that George died while attending church. It is hard to imagine how hard that would have been on Margaretha.



George Bryner

¹⁹⁴ Heber's father was Conrad Naegle and his mother was Rosanna Zimmerman, Conrad's third wife. Heber grew up in Lehi. He freighted with his brother in Arizona for the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad and then attended Brigham Young Academy in Provo, where they were living when it burned down. While living with his father in Toquerville, he married Mary (Wintch) Bryner and they made their home there. They were the first couple to be married in the St. George Temple according to Heber's autobiography. KWCY-8GP.

¹⁹⁵ The passage of the Edmunds Act in 1882 had made polygamy a felony and disqualified polygamists from public office. Because the Act was unsuccessful in controlling polygamy in Utah, Congress debated legislation in 1884 to plug the loopholes, which increased pressure on Mormons and led to arrests, trials, and imprisonments.

¹⁹⁶ A discussion note in *FamilySearch* by an unknown contributor states that George died in church.

Although the town had been surveyed and laid out during the previous spring, most of the families were still living on their scattered farms. That spring the settlers were encouraged to move onto the town site. Ulrich and Margaretha probably moved into town around that time, but in order to “prove up” and gain title to the homestead, they had to live on the farm for at least six months of each of the next five years, so at least part of her family continued to live there at least part time.

Bishop Frandsen had the ward members draw lots for building sites in the newly surveyed town. The specifics of this process for the Bryner families have not been recorded, but they ended up mostly living on the same block.¹⁹⁷ Pauline’s husband John Hardison Pace drew two lots, one of which is where the courthouse stands and the other to the south, where he built a home, and they lived there for the rest of their lives.¹⁹⁸ Most of the extended Bryner family lived nearby. According to Paulina’s daughter Edith Ann, until they built a canal, they had to haul water in barrels into town in their wagons for three summers.

Ulrich completed a two-story log house on his lot that winter, and Susanna, Margaretha and her children moved into it. It is said to have been the first big log house to be completed on the new townsite.¹⁹⁹

Ulrich had brought fruit seeds and had the first orchard and grape bowery in Price. They also brought the first bees to the valley.²⁰⁰ According to Lilly and Rosella,

They started with just a few hives and increased till at one time they had 300 stands of bees... We had a lame brother, Henry (K), who never married, and he was a great help to mother, both (with) the garden and with the bees... The children all had to help as well, since Ulrich’s blindness limited him, but he could turn the extractor and even help build the bee boxes and frames for the honey.

Lura added,

A man from New York came and contracted with him for honey. He brought them five gallon cans to hold it, and they shipped many of these cans full of honey, as much as three hundred such cans a season... (Ulrich) also braided rope from cowhide that was a specialty and raised and sold vegetables and large barrels of sauerkraut.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ The exact locations can be inferred from the census of 1900, as I will explain later. Unfortunately, the records of the 1890 census were destroyed in a fire in Washington, D.C. in 1896.

¹⁹⁸ Lori Brockbank, Ulrich memories K2W3-49H.

¹⁹⁹ Lura Redd, also Lilly and Rosella.

²⁰⁰ Centennial Echoes from Carbon County, DUP 1948, p. 78.

²⁰¹ Lura Redd, *FamilySearch* Memories K2W3-49H.

He made some of the best wine that could be bought. With the help of others, father made a spinning wheel and mother spun yarns, washed the wool and carded it, and made yarn for the knitting of socks. We sold many quilts to mining camps, sheep herders and freighters. Margaretha owned the first sewing machine in the town. She made men's suits that were bought at the Washington factory in Dixie.

(Margaretha) was a practical nurse. She was called out night and day to care for the sick. Often the family would awake in the morning and find her away. She had been called in the night, and the older girls knew what to do when she was not there. Sometimes she would be gone for a whole week.

Lilly and Rosella wrote:

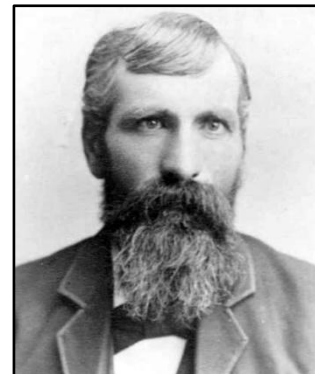
She...kept herbs of all kinds tied up in a bag, hanging in the attic. She made a very good canker medicine from herbs and barks. It was considered the best medicine for both children and adults, people from all around would come to buy it. Whenever there was sickness or death, our mother was there to help in any way she could, and when she came home she would stay in the granary and change her clothes, being very careful to not bring any germs home to her children.

Pauline's husband John Pace became second counselor to Bishop George Frandsen. Moriah, Albert's wife, was first counselor in the Young Ladies M.I.A.²⁰² Pauline was chosen to be first counselor to her friend from Bluff, Sarah G. Cox, in the first Relief Society organization. Brother Cox was a carpenter and made most of the caskets for the dead. He also organized the ward's first choir.

Henry G, Maria's son, was made a Seventy on August 2, 1885, ordained by N. T. Guymon.²⁰³

Maggie Mariah Bryner was born in Price to Albert and Mariah on September 5, 1885, but she died six months later.

John Henry Mathys had a lingering hip ailment from an injury he had sustained playing baseball in St. George before his marriage. In December he went to Provo and consulted a doctor and was operated upon. He stayed there about two weeks and was then allowed to go home, but he did not do well.



Henry G. Bryner

When the ward records of Maria and her youngest boy Franklin Casper Bryner were received from Harmony on December 28, 1885, Frank was 15 years old and probably drove

²⁰² Centennial Echoes from Carbon County, DUP 1948, p. 80.

²⁰³ Short Biography in *Ancestry*.

Maria and her belongings over the same trail that his father and brothers had taken over a year earlier. I suspect that they moved in with either Albert and his family or with Pauline and John Pace. Now all three of Ulrich's wives were in Price, and he faced a greater risk of detection and arrest as a polygamist.

The Lorenzo Snow polygamy trial in Salt Lake City made headlines in January 1886, and there were several polygamy arrests in Salt Lake City that winter. Henry G took his mother Maria back to New Harmony to live with her daughter Verena Redd, possibly due to increased polygamy concerns.

By April Conference in 1886, most of the Church authorities were in hiding, and the meeting was run by some of their sons. My great grandmother, Sarah Sirrine from Bear Lake, Idaho, happened to be in attendance. She wrote home,

Conference last week was grand. I attended a mass meeting at the tabernacle where most speakers were young men who had been raised in polygamy. The bands were out and the music was splendid. There was town meetings on Sunday, and then they gave it out that there would be meeting in the big Tabernacle that night and Brother Angus M. Cannon would speak to us, so we all went, and he did speak splendid. He is found guilty and is to be sentenced next Saturday, but he does not seem to fear it.²⁰⁴

Five months after John Henry Mathys' hip surgery, his surgical wound developed an abscess. He died in Provo on June 5, June 1886 and his body was sent to Price on the train. He was the first person to be buried in the Price cemetery. The second was Pauline Pace, a daughter of Pauline Bryner and John Hardison Pace, who was born August 1, 1886 and died the same day.

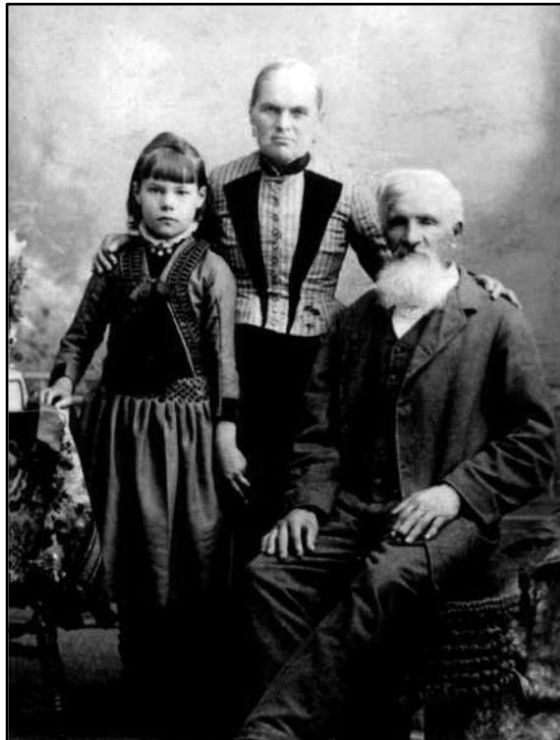
About that time, my 15 year old future great grandfather Bert McMullin of Heber began a career with his father Albert freighting to Fort Duchesne, hauling supplies by team and wagon from the railroad station in Price to the U.S. Government Post via Nine Mile Canyon, a route of about 120 miles. Albert and his sons would take supplies from Price to the reservation and bring back gilsonite to the railway, fully loaded going both directions, and they ran year round when they could. In the fall of 1886, Albert McMullin bought two city lots from Bishop Frandsen and moved both of his wives and several of their 14 children to Price.

²⁰⁴ Letters of Lace and Stones, p. 226, *FamilySearch* Memories KWC5-1HH

There were nearly 200 imprisonments in Utah during 1887 for unlawful cohabitation and many more in Idaho. The U.S. government began to take possession of the Church's offices and properties. President John Taylor died in exile on July 25th. Polygamists like Ulrich Bryner needed to be careful.

The *Salt Lake Herald* ran a story involving constables Fred Grames and H. Bryner of Price catching thieves on May 27, 1887. Henry G must have been a constable.

After Henry G was re-baptized by E. W. McIntire on November 14, 1887, he and Isabella picked up Maria in New Harmony and took her to attend their marriage on December 1st in the St. George Temple. Henry G was 34 years old and Isabella was 28. After taking Maria back to New Harmony, they returned to Price and built a two room adobe house on the corner of 107 South 1st East. Henry owned three farms around the city and Isabella took up bee keeping with 40 beehives. Perhaps she got her start from Margaretha.



Lilly, Margaretha, and Ulrich ca. 1887

If Marshal Gilson did not know that Ulrich was a polygamist by 1888, either he was just too busy to notice or because Ulrich had sent Maria back to New Harmony, since the office for Gilson's gilsonite dealings was located right in Price, probably no more than two blocks from the Bryner house. Gilson and his company also had a warehouse and railroad siding in Wellington to collect and distribute all the gilsonite delivered down Nine Mile Canyon from his mines in the Uintah Basin, hand packed into 200 lb. canvas bags for worldwide distribution.

Albert McMullin was camped the following summer in Nine Mile Canyon on one of his return trips from Fort Duchesne to Price and was cooking his dinner, when a marshal drove up in a buggy to ask if he knew the S.O.B. polygamist named Al McMullin. Albert said he did, but that it was too late in the day to catch him and invited the man to unhitch his team and spend the night. The next day the marshal continued on to Fort Duchesne, and Albert went straight to his second wife Lizzie's house, packed her and her children up, and moved them to Huntington. He never got caught.

According to Lura Redd, Ulrich Bryner never went to prison for his three wives either, but he had to go on the run at least once. His boys took him to Wellington, where he stayed with a man named William Hill.²⁰⁵ When they heard that the marshals were coming to Wellington, Ulrich and Brother Hill went over to Brother Snyder's place and spent the night, and the marshals left empty-handed.

Casper Harmon, the son of Harmon C. and Edith Miles Bryner died of pneumonia at the age of five months April 3, 1888.²⁰⁶

In 1888, there were more arrests and imprisonments for "unlawful cohabitation" than in any previous year. Ulrich's brother Casper Bryner turned himself in at St. George and served a six month sentence in the Sugar House prison at the same time as George Q. Cannon.

On August 4, 1888²⁰⁷ it rained all day, and the next day it rained again. The water came down the Bryners' stove pipe, and they couldn't bake the bread, so Mrs. Beager, who was helping in the home, stuffed rags around the stovepipe and then forgot to take them off when the rain stopped. That night when she went upstairs her room was full of smoke, so she opened her window and went to sleep with the family, who were all outside due to the summer heat. During the night the draft from her open window caused the smoldering rags to ignite.



Casper Bryner is second from left. George Q. Cannon is center of first step.

No one noticed the fire at first. Lilly and Edith were sleeping near the house in a wagon box with Aunt Susan, who was asleep in the other end. Margaretha was the first to notice the blaze and screamed, "fire, fire!" Johnny heard her and came running, and so did Ras and Lars Frandsen, Ralph Horsely, and Dave Smith from the Frandsen home across the street, and they moved the wagon box out of danger. Ulrich rushed upstairs to get a box holding their money, deeds, and the mortgage from the sale of the home in Toquerville and picked up what he could, but because of his blindness he could not see the danger, and he was

²⁰⁵ This is not the William Hill who baptized Henry K in Toquerville in 1873. This was William James Hill KWCY-2ST, a church leader in Wellington with two wives. While he was fleeing to Mexico in 1883, he got caught in a flood of the Price River and lost his teams, so he got a job grading for the railroad. He ended up living permanently in Wellington where he was a community leader and Sunday School superintendent.

²⁰⁶ *Deseret News*.

²⁰⁷ According to Lilly and Rosella, the year was 1889. That can't be possible since Susanna died later in 1888.

burned about the hands, and his whiskers were burned off, blistering his face. They had no water because the town's irrigation system had broken down that summer, so they just stood there along with half the town and watched it burn.

When Margaretha counted up her children, she couldn't find Lilly and Edith because the wagon box had been carried away, and she thought they had died in the fire. They could not quiet her for a week. She had a "nervous breakdown" and went to the hospital in Salt Lake City.²⁰⁸ She is said to have stayed away from Price for two years.

They lost nearly everything, and it was a long time before anyone could even go near enough to look for the gold and silver in Ulrich's tin box. When they could finally search through the smoldering ruins, they could see the edge of \$20.00 gold pieces melted together, which when minted again were worth \$350.00. The bag of silver held more melted coins, but the greenbacks and precious documents were burned up.

Also, Maria's belongings that were stored upstairs were lost.

Margaretha's sewing machine was destroyed in the fire, and all of her relics, pictures, records, savings and addresses to Switzerland were burned, causing her to lose touch with her sister and brother there.

Two days before the fire, 15 year old Josephine had quit her job at Woodside in the section house for the railroad company and brought her clothes and all the money she had earned home in a trunk. After the fire they found a lump of silver dollars melted together inside the burned trunk which amounted to several hundred dollars when minted again.

According to Lura, "They all now for a time wore hand-me-downs from nearly every family of pioneers in town. They fixed up the granary and moved in there and finished it with odds and ends that their neighbors could spare."

"Aunt Susan," Susanna Müller Rosenstock Bryner, Ulrich's third wife, died December 11, 1888 in Price. She was 67.²⁰⁹ According to one family story, she died of fright from the fire.

²⁰⁸ "Nervous breakdown" is an outdated term from the 1940's and 1950's when the story was written. Given her early life traumas, her age and the trauma of the fire, a doctor in 1889 would likely have diagnosed her with "nervous exhaustion." Other terms of the day were neurasthenia or melancholia. The fire would have been seen as the "exciting cause" that depleted her "nerve force." At 50, she was also likely experiencing menopause, which Victorian doctors often linked to heightened "nervous irritability." The gold standard in those days were seclusion in a quiet room, a milk-heavy diet to "build up the blood," massage and mild electrical currents. Salt Lake City was famous for its mineral springs. This therapy would not have taken two years, so the legal threat from polygamy must have played a strong role as well.

²⁰⁹ *Deseret News*, December 26, 1888.

During the following year, Ulrich's boys built a new house of mortar, lime, sand, and cobblestone rocks in the Swiss style, and Ulrich supervised the building. It was built on the same lot as the log house, 78 S. Main Street on the south side of the street. It was one of the most substantial early structures in the "old town" section.



The Bryners' stone house

On August 24, 1889, Ulrich went to Salt Lake City for his required homestead interview at the land office for his farm.²¹⁰

The final certificate #4116 declared that the Bryner homestead was complete, and that Ulrich had paid off the balance of \$6.²¹¹

On March 2, 1890, Albert McMullin's records were received at the Price Ward—his from Heber and his wife's records from Provo. They brought their daughters Estella and Florence and their son Bert, who entered a serious courtship of 15 year old Annie Bryner.

Evidently Margaretha was still in Salt Lake City. According to one family story,²¹² she said she would only come back when they had built a house that wouldn't burn down. She is said to have been away from home for two years, which is a long time to treat a "nervous breakdown."

²¹⁰ According to the land office files, he testified that he was currently living in his homestead house, which was, of course, only partially true, but enough to satisfy the requirement. The improvements to the farm property that he listed were the house, a stable, and a corral. He had 40 acres under cultivation in wheat, oats, corn, potatoes, and hay. He declared that he had lived there with his wife and six children for five years, one month, and a day. The cabin was worth \$200. He described it as a log house of 14 x 26 feet with two rooms. He also said that he owned a reaper, a mower, three plows, a hay rake, shovels, hoes. He owned six horses, four cows, and 25 head of livestock on the mountains. For furniture he listed a stove, three bedsteads, a cupboard, tables, and chairs. He was not engaged in any business but farming. He also stated that he had no other house, which was also not true, and that he had a wife and six children living in the house. As of that time Margaretha and Ulrich had nine living children Ulrich plus Henry K living in Price, and none were married, but apparently they didn't all work on the farm. By this time Johnny was 20 and working on his own farm. Josephine was 17 and James was 15, both probably living elsewhere and working. Due to polygamy issues, it was wise not to tell the authorities any more than necessary, so there was no mention of Maria, who was in New Harmony, nor of any of her children. The homestead records consisted of 41 pages including Ulrich's citizenship papers, endorsements of two witnesses, and an attorney.

²¹¹ The official Homestead Certificate was approved in Washington D.C. and awarded July 3, 1890 along with four others in Price.

²¹² This story was told by Albert's grandson, Bruce Rulon Bryner as quoted by Sue Christensen, who restored Albert's house and runs the Bryner Museum in Price.

The Edmunds-Tucker Act became law on March 3, 1887. It had two devastating financial provisions. The first was disincorporation, which meant dissolving the Church as a legal corporation. The second was property seizure, which authorized the federal government to seize all Church property valued at more than \$50,000. Actual physical and legal "confiscation" began in late 1887.²¹³

The Manifesto, in which the Church officially gave up polygamy, was formally adopted at General Conference on October 6th, 1890. Perhaps that is when Margaretha returned to Price.



Top inset: Mary Wintsch, who died in 1896, Annie (away working.) Back row: James, Lilly, Enoch, Rosella, Jacob, Henry K. Front: John, Edith, Margaretha, Ulrich, Helen. Bottom inset picture: George, who died in 1885.

This photo of Margaretha's family is from about 1891.

²¹³ The Church fought the seizure all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In the case *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints v. United States* (decided May 19, 1890), the court upheld the law, ruling that the government had the right to seize the property and redirect the funds toward public schools.

This advertisement appeared in the *Sun-Advocate* in Price on October 9, 1891.

The Genuine German Electro Galvanic Belt cures dyspepsia, rheumatism, female complaints, liver complaint lame back and kidney disease, catarrh, diseases of the lungs, spinal complaints and general debility. In every case it gives complete satisfaction and speedy relief.

**Price for single belt \$2.00,
for double belt \$5.00**

**MARGRET K. BRYNER, Agt.
Price, Utah.**

In 1892, Maria's son Albert Bryner built the "Bryner House"²¹⁴ of adobe brick on the corner of 1st South and 1st East just across the street from the log meeting house.

On March 31, 1893, Margaretha's oldest daughter Josephine married George A. Fausett. She had been a clerk in the S.S. Jones store, where George worked also worked, and had gone to BYU. She was 20.



The 12.5 foot Angel Moroni statue was placed onto the capstone of the Salt Lake Temple, and the Temple was dedicated on April 6, 1893.

That year Albert Bryner went to Switzerland on a mission. Coincidentally, his Swiss cousin Carl Bosshard came to America to visit the World's Fair in Chicago, but they unknowingly passed each other on the ocean.

Carl was 27 years old and single. His mother Anna Paulina was the youngest sister of Ulrich's first wife Maria. Paulina was 17 when her brother John Mathys and Ulrich's sister Barbara went to America in 1855 and married each other. By the time their mother died, and their father immigrated to Utah, Paulina was married to a non-Mormon and had three

²¹⁴ The Bryner House is now a museum. Albert moved around 1920 to St. George, leaving his house to his son, and died there in 1930. Through the years, the house served as a bed and breakfast, an upholstery and cabinet shop, two different mortuaries, a credit union, and apartments were built upstairs.

children including Carl, who was only three years old then. When Carl grew up and decided to visit America, his mother gave him an extra thousand dollars to look up her Mormon siblings, which he did, coming directly to Price before going to the fair. Then he took his Uncle Ulrich to visit his other uncles--John Mathys in New Harmony and Henry Mathys in St. George. They were in Salt Lake City visiting Swiss friends, when urgent word came to return to Price, as his Aunt Maria had become seriously ill.

Maria died September 1, 1893, and was buried in Price. She was 65 years old.

After the funeral, Carl Bosshard went to the World's Fair²¹⁵ and then back to Switzerland, where he met his missionary cousin Albert. Together they looked up Margaretha's younger sister Anna Hardmeier and other relatives²¹⁶ and put them back into communication with Margaretha.²¹⁷

A civil marriage license²¹⁸ was granted in Emery County²¹⁹ to Ulrich and Margaretha, and they were legally married on December 1, 1893. He was 66 and she was 54. This was probably necessary to allow Margaretha and her children to be legal heirs to Ulrich's estate. Otherwise, the earlier polygamous marriage would have been considered illegal and all of their children illegitimate.

In April an important but little known event in the policy and practice of temple work was announced, which would profoundly affect the lives of Margaretha and Ulrich. In a meeting with his counselors and the Twelve Apostles prior to general conference in 1894, President Wilford Woodruff said,

I have felt we are too strict in regard to some of our temple ordinances. This is especially the case in regard to husbands and parents who are dead. Heretofore, we have not permitted wives to be sealed to their dead husbands unless such husbands were in the Church, nor have we permitted children to be sealed to dead unbaptized parents. This is wrong I feel.... *The Lord has told me that it is right for*

²¹⁵ The Chicago World's Fair ran from May 1 to October 31, 1893.

²¹⁶ Her only other living sibling was her 48 year old brother Hans Heinrich Kuhn, who lived until 1918 in the Zürich area. Margaretha's oldest sister Maria had died in Illnau in 1892, having outlived her husband Hans Jakob Morf. I know of no children. Her older sister Susanna died in 1877 and the age of 38, married to John Caspar Wegmann with no known children. Her youngest brother died at the age of 18 months in 1847.

²¹⁷ Margaretha's father died in 1873 and her mother in 1878 while she lived in Toquerville. Her four older siblings had also died, but her younger sister Anna Hardmeier and her brother Heinrich lived in the Zürich area. While Carl Bosshard was in Switzerland he gathered genealogy on his parents' family lines. After his parents died he returned to Price in 1900. Later he moved to Salt Lake City and was baptized a Mormon on January 6, 1909 (*FamilySearch* KVL2-QTK, ordinances.) and did temple work for his kindred dead. He died in St. Mark's Hospital on August 20, 1922, and was buried in the Price Cemetery.

²¹⁸ In *FamilySearch* sources for Margaretha.

²¹⁹ Carbon County was not founded until March 8, 1894.

children to be sealed to their parents, and they to their parents just as far back as we can possibly obtain the records. (Italics are mine.)

George Q. Cannon is said to have responded that he was "...thankful for what has been revealed. This matter has weighed for a long time on my mind."²²⁰

Until that time, temple work for the dead often consisted of sealing oneself to important and respected people rather than families. In fact, to be sealed to one's deceased relatives generally required proof that the ancestor had lived a life worthy of exaltation, and it usually extended back only a single generation or two. From that time on, the sealings of families through all generations became the main focus of temple work.

It appears that Margaretha and Ulrich heard the announcement of the policy change in temple work at General Conference that week and took it to heart. Temple work for their ancestors would dominate the rest of their lives.

One month later Johnnie, Margaretha's oldest son with Ulrich, married Martha Eliza Smith in Meadow, Millard County and brought her to live on his homestead in Helper. After four children were born they moved to Price.

Annie left her job in a boarding house to work at a gilsonite mine in Duchesne County from which the McMullins had freighted the mineral to Price in six-horse teams pulling double-hitched wagons. She married Bert (Albert O.) McMullin at a New Years Eve dance in Wellington ushering in the year 1894, and then they drove to Salt Lake City with two other couples to be married in the temple.



Johnnie and Martha Eliza

Bert's father, Albert McMullin, became the bishop of a new ward about six miles down the Price River in Wellington when its branch was reorganized. After the marriage, Albert gave Bert and Annie a team of horses, and Bert got a job at a saw mill working with his father in nearby Mud Creek Canyon.

Rosella recorded a vision²²¹ she had on April 5, 1894, when she was two months shy of 16 years old, in which her brother George William, who had died when he was 14, appeared to her and warned that someone else was about to die. At first Rosella thought it would be

²²⁰ Jonathan A. Stapley, Adoptive Sealing Ritual in Mormonism, *Journal of Mormon History*, Vo. 37. No. 2. p. 108.

²²¹ Rosella Bryner Anderson, My Grandmother, *FamilySearch Memories* KWCZ-565.

Margaretha, who was sick at the time, but apparently George William was speaking of Rosella herself, because he invited her to join him and said that Aunt Maria, who by this time had been dead about six months, also wanted her to come. Then he told her to tell her brother James to come home and get re-baptized and try to get along with his father Ulrich. He also told her to have David Jones (her boyfriend) get re-baptized.

James, who was 20, had left Price and moved to Spring Glen, just south of Helper, less than a month before Rosella's dream.²²² He did not come home, and there is no evidence that he was re-baptized, but Rosie herself was re-baptized in Price on June 7, 1894. Thankfully, the vision turned out to be incorrect: none of the family members died for a decade.

Rosella wrote in her memoir that her 13 year old brother Alma drove the team for Margaretha to the mining camps to sell vegetables along the road between Price and Castle Gate. On one of those trips while they were stopped at a home to sell their goods, they learned that two of the family's children had been badly burned while making a fire with kerosene. Margaretha grated raw potatoes to cover the burns and stayed there several weeks to help care for the children.



Annie and Bert

Annie and Bert McMullin moved in with her parents in Price, where the McMullins' freighting operation was based, and their first child Glen was born there on October 27th. They stayed all winter so that Annie's younger siblings could go to school while Margaretha and Ulrich were doing temple work in St. George. The McMullins moved back to Wellington the next summer and lived in a little log house that Bert built, and their girls Flavo and Rela (my grandmother) were born there.

Although she was only three, Annie's daughter Rela had a memory of Ulrich during that time. She told this story.²²³

While living in Carbon County, Grandfather Bryner's two youngest sons, Enoch and Alma, took him to the marshes to gather reeds, and then dried them, and he wove them into very nice baskets of all kinds. One day as he was making a basket, my mother told me to go out and bring Grandfather in to dinner. I couldn't talk then, but I could understand well, and just as I laid my hand on his knee, he cut a reed. He

²²² His ward record in Price shows that he "removed" to Spring Glen on March 20, 1884. Spring Glen was a collection of independent-minded "bachelor farmers" that grew to a town with a school and LDS branch in 1883. When the railroad arrived, it became important for coal mining by 1884, which probably attracted James.

²²³ Rela McMullin Bateman Beckstead Autobiography, *FamilySearch* Memories, KWCZ-6KD.

hadn't heard me, and he cut into my cheek. He led me into the house, and I guess they heard me crying. He felt really bad, and my mother said that afterwards she would often see him trying to feel my scar. He was afraid he had spoiled my face. I have carried the scar for many years. I always thought he favored me a little.

When Utah became the 45th state on January 4, 1896, businesses closed throughout the state. Bells rang, whistles blew, and crowds in the streets shouted, hugged each other, and shook hands. People packed Temple Square to see fireworks exploding over the Tabernacle in which hung a 168 x 78 foot American flag from the ceiling with an electric light illuminating the 45th star. The Tabernacle Choir and a chorus of a thousand children sang the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

When Flavo was born on January 22, 1896, Annie and her children all came down with measles. Sixteen-year-old Lilly was sent down to Wellington to help until they were well.

On February 27, 1896, Margaretha's oldest daughter Mary Wintch Naegle died in childbirth at the age of 30, while her husband Heber was serving in the Swiss/German Mission. Unfortunately, Margaretha had been sick herself, and was not in St. George that winter. She sent 15 year old Lilly to Toquerville to help Heber's mother, Rosanna Naegle, take care of Mary's children and kept Rosella home in Price to help with her own children. Heber hurried home early from his mission, but sadly, the infant Marion James only lived two months. After the baby died, Heber brought his remaining children and Lilly up to Price to be with Margaretha until September, when he returned to Toquerville with three of his children and 18 year old Rosella.²²⁴



Mary's children

Rosella stayed with the Naegles until Heber married Emma Anderson in June 1897. Then he brought Rosella to Provo, and she took the train home to Price.

When Ulrich turned 70 in April 1897, he decided to dedicate himself full-time to genealogy. He said his children were industrious, independent, and didn't need his money, so he spent it hiring genealogical research in Switzerland.²²⁵ He and Margaretha spent the last years of

²²⁴ Rosella Elizabeth Bryner's church membership was received into the Toquerville Ward from Price on December 27, 1896.

²²⁵ His home newspaper, the *Eastern Utah Advocate*, reported on February 3, 1905, that Ulrich spent about \$1,500 on genealogical research. Calculating the equivalent using the consumer price index, this would be

his life in St. George doing temple work for thousands²²⁶ of their dead relatives. Ulrich traced his family line back to his ninth great grandfather, who was born in 1495. Margaretha's Kuhn line was traced to 1535, and Maria's Mathys line was extended to her seventh great grandfather.

Frank Bryner, Maria's youngest child, married Farozine Ellen Redd in St. George on June 29, 1897. He had known her since he lived in New Harmony. His first wife, Annie McIntire, had died bearing their son Frank, who was being raised by Grandmother McIntyre in Price. Frank brought Farozine back to Price to live.

When Annie's husband Bert McMullin was called on a mission to the Southern States, she moved back into the honey house in Price with their three children and took up dress making to support him. After school, her sisters Rosella and Lilly often helped her to sew.

In the eyes of Annie's daughter Rela, Margaretha was a bee-charmer:

(My father) sold his freight wagon, his team of eight horses, harnesses, and his home in Wellington and moved my mother, my brother Glen, and my sister Flavo and me to Price, Carbon County, into my grandfather and grandmother Bryner's honey house, a small two room building next to the big rock Bryner home. There they kept bees and extracted honey from the combs and prepared it to sell and use. The bees never stung my grandmother, but others had to put on a screened bonnet when they went near the hives.

When Rosella married Niels Peter Anderson on November 15, 1899, the town was under quarantine, so their wedding dance was postponed until the epidemic was over. On January 2, 1900, Lilly and Rasmus Frandsen were married and moved two months later to Sunnyside. Lilly was 20 and Rasmus was 31. By October they had their first child, Mona, but she died at the age of 18 months.

That June, Margaretha's son James married Jerusha "Jannie" Babcock in Spring Glen, and they lived in Helper next door to her parents on a farm that James owned. They had no children.²²⁷

\$57,000 in 2025. However, these are labor costs, which have increased more rapidly than goods. Using labor value, research would be worth \$250,000 in 2025.

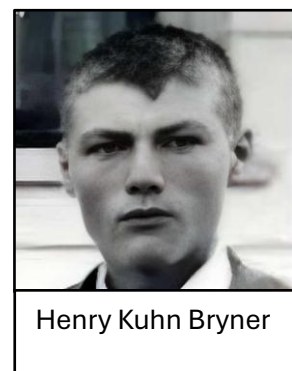
²²⁶ That number seems to be an exaggeration considering the time that each endowment takes. In Ulrich's obituaries, the number is reported variously as "thousands," and "over 8,000." Two of his biographies give the number as 5,000. Assuming that Ulrich and Margaretha attended the temple five days a week for 50 weeks a year, they would have each needed to endow 3-4 ancestors per day to reach 5,000. If they each averaged only one endowment per day, the total would be 1,500, still a prodigious number.

²²⁷ From Bryner Pioneer Museum, *FamilySearch* Memories KWJV-W4C.

The U. S. census in Price was taken on June 8, 1900. By that time the town had grown to 640 people in 135 households. Among the first families to be counted were Ulrich's nephew Harmon Bryner and Brigham McIntyre, who had married Maria's niece Barbara Ann, apparently still living on their homestead farms northeast of town. None of Margaretha and Ulrich's children lived close to them, which suggests that the nearby cabin on the Bryner farm was not being lived in, at least not by the Bryner family.

The census taker worked his way toward town from there. Emma, the widow of John Henry Mathys, had married George Boldle, who owned a hotel in Price, where she and her two daughters Clara and Maude lived. John Mathys and his family also now lived in town, but not near the Bryners. The same is true of Lilly and Rasmus. The business section of town included about a dozen single persons in separate households, perhaps in boarding houses, including the postmaster, a couple of restaurants, stores, bars, clerks, a telegraph operator and railroad officials. There were even two lawyers. Nearby were clustered seven houses in a row of related Bryner families living along First South and around the corner of First East, the so-called Bryner Block. The first belonged to Henry G. Mathys, Maria's nephew who had made his fortune in Mexico. He married Sarah Macfarlane in 1893 and came from St. George to raise cattle. Maria's son, Henry G, and Isabella lived next door with the five children aged 1-11. He was a farmer. Next door lived Pauline and her husband John Pace with their eight children, and then Albert and Moriah with two children. Next were Annie and Bert McMullin, who had recently returned from his mission, with their three children: Glen, Flavo, and Rela. Bert declared his livelihood as coal miner--he was no longer freighting. They were renting, probably living in the honey house. All the other Bryner children owned their homes.

Next door lived Margaretha and Ulrich in their fine stone house. Margaretha's son Henry K was now 40 years old. According to the census, he could speak English but had never gone to school and could not read or write. His occupation was given as a farm laborer. Margaretha's three youngest children were still living with them. Enoch was 23 and still unmarried, working on the farm. He also freighted for many years, taking his freight to the Unita Reservation and bringing back gilsonite. Alma, now 18, also worked on the farm. Edith was 17.



Henry Kuhn Bryner

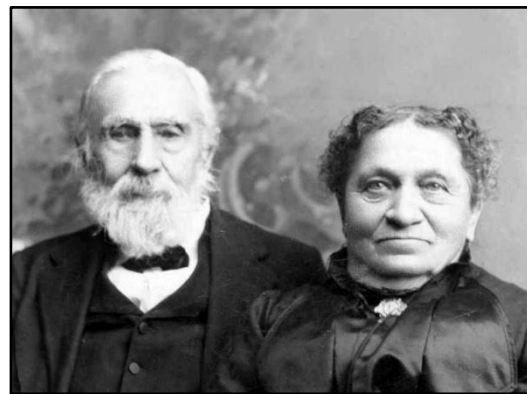
The next building housed Pauline and her husband John Pace with their eight children. John was farming, but their 19 year old son was freighting, as were at least a dozen more of the young men in town. Next to the Pace family was the house of Frank Bryner, Maria's youngest, who was now 30 years old and living with his second wife Farozine Ellen Redd

and their three children. He was a carpenter. Frank's ward record in Price shows that he moved to Cedar City the next month.

There were only two houses between the Bryner clan and the train depot. They housed 40 single men. Most of them were associated with the railroad, including 31 unmarried Japanese men who had arrived earlier that year. They were living in company-owned buildings or repurposed boxcars outfitted with bunks and wood stoves parked near the depot.

Soon after that, Bert and Annie moved their family to Sunnyside for Bert to work in the mine. The development of branch railroads had by this time significantly dried up the freighting business.

In 1901, Anna Benz Kleinmann, Margaretha's friend since her early days in Lehi, moved with her husband from their home near Mesa, Arizona to become full-time temple workers in the St. George temple. They obtained a comfortable house near the temple, and her husband Conrad was ordained Patriarch that September. Their son had served a mission in Germany and brought back genealogical information on many generations of his ancestors, and like the Bryners, they decided to



Conrad and Anna Kleinmann

spend the rest of their years doing temple work. Anna had been a close friend and neighbor during Margaretha's time in Toquerville until just before Susanna Müller joined the Bryner family. Anna's sister Regula, whose husband John Conrad Naegle had recently died, moved into Anna's St. George house to also become a full-time temple worker. Like the Bryners, the Kleinmanns did the ordinance work for literally thousands of their ancestors. The Bryners and the Kleinmanns were in the temple together every day, driven by the same mission.

On October 20, 1901, Margaretha's sixth child, Enoch Conrad, married Ella Mae Zabriskie at Sunnyside.

Rela was nearly five years old when Margaretha and Ulrich returned to Price in 1902. This is her memory of the event.

I remember his kindness when he let me help him fix treats that he had brought from Dixie, where he spent much of his time working in the St. George Temple. He had come home to Price for his 75th birthday, bringing tubs of almonds, dates, raisins,

and figs. He had 75 little bags, one for each of his descendants, and he said, “put a handful of this and one of that and that into the bags as treat.”

The Price Ward membership records of Ulrich and Margaretha and their two youngest children were moved from Price to St. George on October 27, 1902. Jacob Alma was 21 and Edith was 20. They didn’t take Henry K with them, so Rosella and her husband Niels Anderson moved into the stone house with their two little boys to take care of him.

After staying in St. George for a year, Alma came back home to live with Lilly.

Having worked three years at the mine in Sunnyside, Bert McMullin came home one day on a stretcher after being crushed in a mine accident in which two men were killed. Annie convinced him to move their family back to Price in 1903 where Bert began freighting again, but by the end of the year he moved his family to Green River, where he had bought a melon farm.

Edith and Margaretha came home to Price for Edith’s marriage to Thomas Sheppick on June 29, 1904, in the Salt Lake Temple. Margaretha returned the following winter to St. George.

On January 5, 1905, Maria’s youngest boy, Frank Bryner, developed pneumonia and died suddenly in Lund, Nevada. He was only 35 years old. He had worked as a carpenter in Price before he moved with Farozine and their three children to Cedar City, and from there to Lund, where they had two more children. After Frank’s death his widow sold their property and immigrated with the children to Raymond, Alberta, Canada where her brother lived.

Ulrich never returned to Price. One morning in St. George, Margaretha found him on his knees as if he were searching for his shoe, but he couldn’t get up. He had suffered a stroke which paralyzed his right side, and he was unconscious. He died three days later at the age of 77 on February 11, 1905, at the home of their long-time friend Conrad Kleinmann.

Perhaps the two couples were living together both inside and outside the temple. Simultaneous memorial services were held for Ulrich at the Price town hall and in St. George, where he was buried. He had always said he was glad that he became blind, otherwise he might have been too busy to listen to the missionaries. He had 21 children, 86 grandchildren, and six great grandchildren.

Ulrich had written a will about a year prior to his death in which he bequeathed the stone house and lot in Price to Margaretha.²²⁸ She returned to Price but died just a year later on

²²⁸ He left \$300 to Henry G and \$100 to each of Maria’s other children (except that Frank’s share went to his widow Farozine, and only \$1 went to Enoch, who still owed Ulrich money.) He also willed \$100 to Henry K. There was no cash to Margaretha’s other children, but all of Ulrich’s children and adopted children were to receive an equal share of his liquidated estate. Albert was to be his executor.

February 19, 1906. She was 65 years old and had lived in Price for two decades. According to her doctor, her death was caused by “senility complicated by a hernia that she had from 14 years of age.”

Henry K was living with her at the time of her death. He was 46 years old.

Not a single written word of Margaretha’s has survived²²⁹ to tell us how she felt about all this. Unfortunately, the helpful memories of her children and grandchildren tend to be eclipsed by their justified heroic stories about her blind husband Ulrich Bryner.

But to me she is the epitome of an un-sung hero.

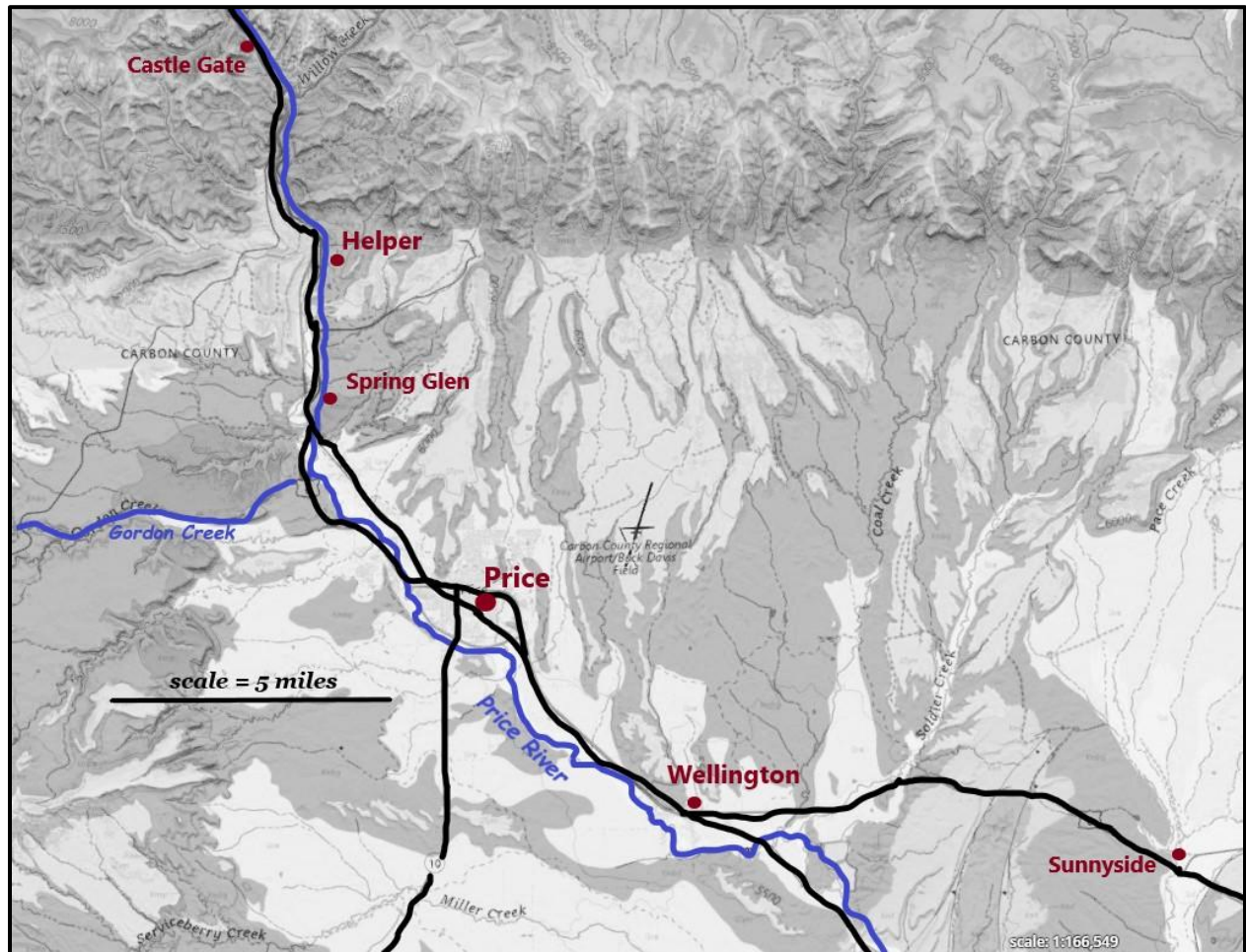
As an un-wed mother to her impaired son Henry K, Margaretha began her adult life in shame. And she knew grief, having outlived four of her first six children and all three of her husbands. She bore 16 children, served as eyes to her blind husband, and spent her middle years serving her community, especially in Price, as a practical nurse. She was the second wife in a polygamous marriage and then was declared officially unmarried in the eyes of her government. She adapted to a foreign land, culture, and language, and finally spent her last days as her first, living alone with her firstborn son, Henry K.

The efforts of Margaretha and Ulrich have greatly overshadowed my own retirement career as an amateur genealogist. I can only hope that the facts I have gathered can inspire and further turn the hearts of her descendants to their mother.



²²⁹ Unless we count the sales pitch for her Genuine German Electro Galvanic Belt Cure-all, which was more likely copied from her supplier’s prospectus.

Map of Towns in Carbon County



Epilogue

Margaretha's Surviving Children

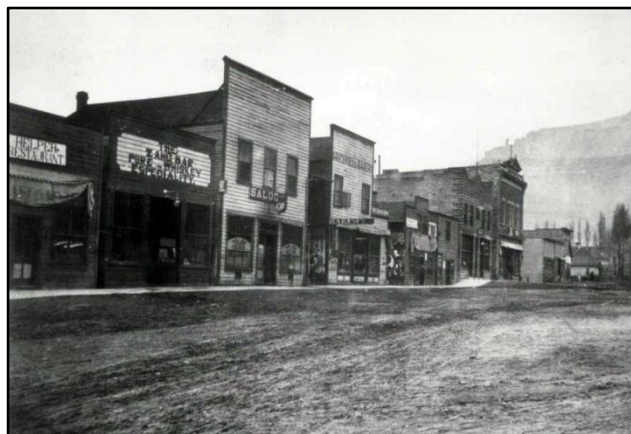
After his mother's death in 1906, "(Henry K) lived with his brothers and sisters, going from one of their homes to another. He would stay about a year or so at each place, doing whatever was asked of him without a word of complaint."²³⁰ He died at the age of 69 in Price of erysipelas²³¹ on February 12, 1929, evidently while living with his sister Lilly Frandsen, who was the informant on his death certificate.

Mary Wintch Bryner's husband Heber Naegle and Emma Helena Anderson had five more children in Toquerville. Heber became the first mayor of Toquerville after it was incorporated in 1916.

Johnnie and Martha moved from Helper to Price sometime between 1901 and 1905, where they lived the rest of their lives. They had seven children, the youngest of whom they named Margaret after her grandmother.

Josephine and her husband George Fausett lived in Price and had eight children including two prominent artists--her oldest son Lynn, who was known for his murals and landscapes, and her youngest son Dean, who was nationally honored. One of his works was a portrait of President Eisenhower.

In 1910 James was living in Helper with Jerusha, to whom he had been married ten years. They had no children and soon separated. Jerusha eventually married four different men over the next two decades and never had a child. In 1919 James married Ethel Larsen from Castle Dale, and they eventually had five children. They lived close to his brothers Enoch and Alma, where they all farmed.



Helper Main Street ca. 1909

Enoch owned a service station in Helper in 1930 and his 27 year old son Merrill worked for him. He served on a posse to round up the killer of Sheriff Tyler and his deputy

²³⁰ Edith Ann Pace Prince, *FamilySearch* Memories KVVH-DKM

²³¹ Erysipelas is an acute, contagious bacterial infection of the skin, often known as "St. Anthony's fire."

of Grand County. He lived his whole life in Helper and died in 1947. Alma and Ethel lived in Helper at least until 1937. Their son Melvin worked at the Bryner Service station.

By August 1906, Annie and Bert McMullin were living in Green River. Rela wrote:

Flavo stayed in Green River and helped with the other children, and I went to Price with my mother when Helen was to be born as we didn't have a doctor in Green River. We stayed with Aunt Josephine and her husband Uncle George Fausett, as she was to be taking care of my mother. I slept with my mother, but one morning I awoke in my grandmother's bed and room. A new baby girl had come in the night.

Bert and Annie McMullin sold their farm in Green River during the spring of 1907 for a good price and moved to South Jordan, where Bert bought the Garside home, the prettiest one in town.

Rosella and Niels Anderson had eight children. The first two were born in Sunnyside and the rest in Price. Niels was a blacksmith, rancher, and stockman, who also served as Deputy Sheriff and Town Marshall of Price. Rosella followed her mother's example and worked as a practical nurse. Niels went on a mission to Texas and eventually died in St. George in 1945, where they were working in the temple. Rosella moved to Salt Lake City, where she died in 1961. She was buried in Price.

Lilly and George Frandsen had five more children in Price, all of whom lived to adulthood. All were born in the pioneer cabin of the Frandsen family. George died in 1927, but she lived until 1947, when she died of a stroke in Oakland, California while visiting her daughter.

Alma married Ethel Porter in Salt Lake City on April 4, 1907, and they farmed next to Enoch in Helper through 1940. Alma and Ethel died in Salt Lake City, where some of their children lived.

Edith Margaretha married Thomas Sheppick on July 29, 1904 in Salt Lake City. He had immigrated from England around 1888 and lived in South Jordan. Their first child was born in Price in 1905, but the other six were born in South Jordan. She died there in 1963.

Margaretha's Beautiful Granddaughters ca.1916.²³²



²³² This photograph has most of the children identified in *FamilySearch* Memories KWCR-4KC.

Maria's Children

Henry G. and Isabella lived their whole lives in Price, but Henry's was relatively short. He died after several months of illness of "progressive muscle atrophy," which sounds like undiagnosed cancer to me. The youngest of his five children was only seven. Isabella lived to the age of 81 and died of influenza.

Paulina and John Pace never moved from Price. They came from Bluff with five children and had six more in Price including the girl who died on her first day of life. Paulina was operated on at LDS Hospital in 1920 and remained there for two months. John quit his job to care for her at home, but she died February 26, 1921 at the age of 64 of uterine cancer. After Paulina's death John contracted influenza, which left his body and health in a very weak condition. During the early fall of 1922, he made up his mind to get married again in Cedar City. On his way he became ill and was hospitalized when he reached Cedar City. Ten days after they brought him home, he died the day after his 66th birthday of "cardiac insufficiency with cystitis and nephritis of five years' duration."

Elizabeth and her husband George Wood moved from New Harmony to Cedar City after their first child was born in 1878. They lived there their whole lives, and had 14 children. Elizabeth died at the age of 77 kidney disease following pneumonia. George died in 1942 of heart disease.

Albert and Moriah had a dozen children, the last ten born in Price. Moriah died at the age of 53 in Salt Lake City after surgery for a perforated ulcer. She had spent many years directing the primary, young ladies, and Relief Society. After her death, Albert married her 58 year old sister Margaret, who had never been married. After serving first as counselor and then bishop in Price for 25 years, and then as patriarch, he lived his last decade in St. George working in the temple, following his father's example. He died there on December 19, 1930, and was buried in Price. Margaret died 13 years later at their beautiful house on the corner 68 South and 100 East. The house was left to Albert's son Rulon and passed on to his grandson Bruce Rulon Bryner, and it has been restored by Sue Christensen and now houses the Bryner Pioneer Museum.

Verena married William Alexander Redd in New Harmony before her family moved to Price without her. When she was 37, they moved with their eight children to Raymond, Alberta, Canada, where their last child was born in 1907. William died in 1911, when their youngest child was four and Verena was only 45. She died at the age of 68 of a stroke. Their daughter Lura was one of the main sources for this book.